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THE COST OF A NEW WORLD

BY

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TO
MY WIFE
THIS BOOK
IS
DEDICATED

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

When the World Missionary Conference met in Edinburgh in 1910, Kenneth Maclennan was practising law in that city. He was a leader in the Laymen's Missionary Movement among the Scottish churches and following the Conference was called from his business career to the service of the interdenominational agencies of the British missionary societies. He was active in developing the work of the United Council for Missionary Education and he has remained as its General Secretary along with his other duties. During the World War Mr. Maclennan occupied a highly responsible post in the British Ministry of Munitions and was asked to continue in government service for some time after the War. He soon returned to his work in connection with the world enterprise of the Church, however, and has since become the Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland with headquarters in London.

American readers of *The Cost of a New World* will readily understand that the book has some incidental references applying primarily to Great Britain and the British Empire. It has not seemed desirable on that account to make any essential modification of the text in the American edition. The book as a whole presents a world situation that men of good-will in every land must face together and it is an advantage to have for common study throughout the English-speaking nations such a broad treatment of the problems as Mr. Maclennan has given.

PREFACE

THE object of this book is to face the problems suggested by the strange and perplexing fact that there could take place almost simultaneously a World Missionary Conference and a World War. These events were the climax of two streams in the history of the modern world. One was the expansion of Christianity, and the other an ever-increasing material development practically untouched by spiritual influences. The problems of the world today are just those of the pre-war world. The only difference is that they have to be faced and solved against a new background. It seems of urgent importance therefore that, in the light of pre-war history, fresh consideration should be given to the world movements of today in order to discover what are the vital forces in deadly grips in these movements, what are the real issues, and what is the relevancy of Jesus Christ to them all.

This volume accordingly offers a brief survey of the material forces at work in the pre-war world, discusses some current world movements, e.g., the growth of national and racial consciousness, the seething mind of youth, the industrialization of the Orient, the opening of Africa and the out-reach everywhere after education, and seeks to understand the real conflict in all these movements and the relevancy of Christianity to them.

The problems of our time throw upon the new generation an exceptionally heavy burden. The book is primarily written for them, and the author will be

content if the volume in any way helps them in facing their overwhelming task.

The writer is alone responsible for the opinions expressed, but he desires to acknowledge invaluable help unsparingly given by various members of the United Council for Missionary Education, and a number of other friends too numerous to mention. If exception may be made, he would like to express thanks for help and constructive criticism on the parts of the book dealing with Africa and the Far East received from Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey of Prince of Wales College, Achimota, Gold Coast, Rev. T. Kagawa of Tokyo, Miss Margaret Burton of New York, Miss Agatha Harrison of the Y.W.C.A. (who, until she left China in February, 1924, was a member of the Child Labor Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council), Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, Secretary of the National Christian Council of China, and Dr. Harold Balme, President of Shantung University.

One more acknowledgment must be made. I offer to my colleague, Miss A. E. Cautley, Editorial Secretary of the United Council for Missionary Education, my deep gratitude for the untiring assistance she has given on the book and for seeing it through the press.

KENNETH MACLENNAN

LONDON, *30th September*, 1925.

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THE COST OF A NEW WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE PRE-WAR WORLD

THE leadership of mankind is soon to pass to a generation of men and women who know only the world of the War days and after. When Armageddon broke out their careless, happy laughter filled every school playground; now grown to manhood and womanhood they are faced with a troubled world in desperate need. To them it seems that the problems of the time are of an entirely new order created by the War. But in reality the problems are just of the kind which demanded solution before the War. The difference is that they have to be solved against an entirely new background. The only background of the new generation is the world that has emerged from the War. To them the old world of 1914 is unknown, or is at most only a confused memory of tender years; to all those who come after it will not be even that.

Indeed, man so quickly adjusts himself to new environment that to many older folk the pre-war world seems but a dim memory of the distant past. The shattering effects of the War are such a grim reality, and the acute needs left in its train are so urgent, that the mind of many of the older generation also is filled only with the post-war world.

The War dramatically changed the face of the

world. The outlook of men everywhere has shifted and their energies have taken a new bent. The whole social fabric is in solution. Statesmen are busy with world reconstruction, commerce and industry are facing new and perplexing problems, cruel economic distress on a world scale is baffling mankind, and the expansion of the nations of the West has created acute inter-racial and international problems. It is hardly to be expected that the Church can pass through the fires of such a time without feeling the challenge of the changed world.

The roots of the present world-wide distress, however, do not lie in the War but in the kind of world in which such a catastrophe was possible, and some understanding of that world seems necessary to a right appreciation of the situation confronting those who today would build the city of God. It will be useful, therefore, to look afresh at the expansion of Christianity in the days before 1914.

For one reason or another that movement took limited direction. The grip of religion on the mind of men was unequal to the task of making the Christian spirit effective in human society. This may partly be due to the fact that the modern expansion of Christianity was greatly stimulated by geographical discoveries. As the big blank spaces on the old maps were filled up, the Christian impulse was stirred to send the gospel to the newly discovered regions. The missionary in turn became explorer and discoverer; geography and missions became closely bound up. The trail of the explorer became "a new pathway for Christianity." For long years the small missionary

forces of the Church were sadly inadequate even to a mere geographical occupation of the world, and it was only natural that geographical occupation should be emphasized as the goal of the missionary enterprise. "The whole wide world" was the bugle-call of missions.

In more recent years it became increasingly evident that the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the world demanded a fresh estimate of the Christian forces and a new kind of missionary occupation. Great streams of human activity had burst forth in Christendom and reached out into the remotest corners of the earth as allies or enemies of the missionary cause, while the impact of western ideas on Africa and the hoary Orient offered great new regions of mental and material development for Christian occupation. The missionary passion largely ignored the heathen heart at home, and the Church is even now waking up but slowly to the fact that all these streams of outgoing life from the homeland profoundly affect its task in the mission field, and that for good or evil the nation is really a missionary society.

History always has its lessons for posterity, and if we of the present generation would face the new problems aright we ought to study carefully the experience of the past that we may ever build the better. The modern expansion of Christianity is only part of the dramatic evolution of the last hundred and fifty years. The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of several movements from which issued those great streams of new life which have given us the modern world. Four of these movements were peculiarly destined to turn the current of history into

fresh channels—the expansion of Europe, the birth of modern democracy in the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the Evangelical Revival. All of these gave new direction to the trek of the spirit of man.

I

The early expansion of modern European civilization over the extra-European world was due in the first instance to the enterprise of Spain and Portugal, and later to that of Holland, France, and Great Britain. Portugal by and by fell under the sway of Spain, and the defeat, soon thereafter, of the Great Armada brought the supremacy of Spain to an end. She ceased to count in the expansion of Europe, and her great dominion is now a thing of the past. From the days of the Armada the rivalry was between the new sea-rovers, English, French, and Dutch. Early leadership fell to the Dutch, then finally to Britain, after a long and fierce struggle with France.

Through the activities of its well-known trading Company to the East Indies, Holland acquired in that early struggle important colonies in the Malay Archipelago, South Africa, and Ceylon, while in North America the Dutch founded New York and established colonies along the Hudson River, and in South America they founded Dutch Guiana. Indeed, but for the stronger lure of the Indies, Holland might have occupied Australia and New Zealand, both of which her intrepid explorers brought to the notice of Europe.

The colonial empire of Holland has had some vicissitudes and is now represented by Dutch Guiana, and the small islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, etc. in the West Indies, and by extensive territories in the East Indies where she has accepted responsibility for the government of fifty million Asiatics.

Queen Elizabeth was only four years dead when the first English colony was founded in Virginia. Soon thereafter the men of the *Mayflower,* the forerunners of the American Commonwealth, landed at New Plymouth on 11th November, 1620, a date which marked "the dawn of a new day for freedom in all the world." But not till a hundred and thirty years later were the foundations laid of that wonderful expansion of the Empire through which the restless energy of the British people brought them great new responsibilities in all parts of the world, responsibilities which were only gradually perceived and are not even now fully realized.

For long France and Britain were keen rivals in colonial expansion, but the Seven Years' War dramatically ended that rivalry in India and North America. An obscure English clerk in the service of the East India Company, later to become Lord Clive, had been dreaming for some years of a British India. Clive had gradually destroyed French influence in Southern India; in 1757 his victory at Plassey made the East India Company the real masters of Bengal in the north, and led to British dominion over the whole of India.

The beginning of British dominion in Canada is more romantic. The mind likes to dwell on the epic

story of Wolfe's conquest of Quebec. The imagination is stirred by the tale of how he read to his staff, during the midnight sail up the St. Lawrence, Gray's "Elegy" (the authorship of which he would have preferred to the honor of taking Quebec), by the death next day of the opposing generals on the Heights of Abraham, and by the simple memorial obelisk with the names "Wolfe" and "Montcalm" on either side. The capture of Quebec by Wolfe in 1759 made Britain mistress of Canada.

These events in India and North America marked the end of the first colonial empire of France and left Britain alone to carry on European expansion. The creation of the French later colonial system and the rise of those of Italy, Russia, Germany, and the United States belong to more recent years. From the middle of the eighteenth century till far on in the nineteenth the expansion of Europe was practically the expansion of England. That enterprise proceeded haphazard. An incidental temporary alliance between Napoleon and Holland led to Britain's capture (1806) of Cape Colony, and its subsequent purchase; the necessity for a dumping-ground for convicts led to the first settlement in Australia; quarrels between British traders and settlers and the Maori led to the annexation of New Zealand in 1839; while the accidental march of events rather than any deliberate intention added to the Empire great territories in Equatorial Africa.

"England had, almost by a series of accidents, become the center of an Empire."[1] Expansion developed in many ways and does not seem to have been

[1] Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, p. 40.

directed by any definite policy: it was carried on by restless adventurous spirits, almost without guidance from home. But British ideals were in the main its guide.

The later development of the other European colonial empires, though very important, must be passed over in a single paragraph. The colonial expansion of Holland has been briefly referred to above (p. 18). Before the middle of the nineteenth century France laid the foundations of her new huge colonial system in North Africa, and added later French Congo, Cochin-China, New Caledonia, and Madagascar. Portugal mapped out large African territories in Mozambique and Angola; Russia by steadfast penetration extended her rule over Central Asia and Siberia. Italy sought for expansion in North Africa and Somaliland; and, in the partition of Africa, Germany acquired an outlet in Togo, Cameroons, Tanganyika, and German South-West Africa. Within the last fifty years the new competition for world control has resulted in the extension of European domination to all the politically unoccupied parts of the earth's surface and intrusion on many of the helpless older civilizations. At the beginning of the present century the United States of America entered on colonial responsibility in the Philippines and other islands of the Pacific, and in the West Indies.

Such a development of influence over other peoples was bound to raise in the course of years the question "whether the spirit in which this world-supremacy of Europe was to be wielded should be the spirit of trusteeship on behalf of civilization; or whether it was to

be the old, brutal, and sterile spirit of mere domination for its own sake." [1]

The sense of Christian responsibility was singularly defective in the empire-builders of the modern world. Even England had scant regard either for religion or humanity. The expansion of Christianity was by no means concurrent with the expansion of Europe. "Along the African coast the man stealer, not the missionary, was the representative for generations of British interest in the native." [2] Slavery was not merely a thing of private enterprise; the slave-trade between Africa and North America was actually one of the prizes of the Marlborough victories guaranteed to England by international treaty.[3] The conception of England as a mother of nations had not then been born; exploitation went on merrily. The rigid view that our colonies existed for our benefit split the Empire and gave rise to the American Commonwealth. "It was not the Stamp Act nor the repeal of the Stamp Act," says one historian, "that brought this about: it was that baleful spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter." The East India Company was able for many years with all the power of the British Government behind it to exclude Christian missionaries from its territories. With the passing years humanitarian practise grew, and Christian ideals developed, but there was always a conflict, in which the spirit of evil was too often in the ascendant. Commercial penetration and develop-

[1] Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, p. 143.

[2] *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, Vol. I, p. 24.

[3] The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

ment of natural resources, telegraph lines, roads and harbors do not always mean progress in the ideal of trusteeship. They have been and may still be the channels of exploitation; they always create new problems. The old tribal customs whereby primitive society was bound together are invariably weakened—if they do not break down—when they come into contact with European civilization, and primitive peoples have to be helped to adjust the old social order to the new. The problem is not fully solved anywhere, but a sign of the times is the increasing acceptance of the doctrine of trusteeship evidenced by the appointment by the Colonial Secretary of a Committee on East Africa to consider among other things "the provision of services directed to their [the natives'] moral and material improvement;" and the setting up by the Crown Colony Governments in Africa of a strong Advisory Committee on native education in British Tropical African Dependencies.

Even righteous rule is no longer enough. "Religion," wrote Professor Seeley, "is the great state-building principle, . . . since the Church (so at least I hold) is the soul of the State; and if you find a state which is not also in some sense a Church, you find a state which is not long for this world."

II

All visitors to Geneva visit Rousseau's Isle, where, while Wolfe was taking Quebec and Clive was winning India, a young Frenchman was maturing a new philosophy of "the sovereignty of the general will," which

set agoing another great stream of life in the modern world. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the prophet of the French Revolution, issued his *Contrat Social* to a startled world in 1762. It was instantly recognized as revolutionary, was condemned by the University of Paris and burned by the common hangman a year later as "reckless, scandalous, impious and calculated to destroy the Christian religion and all government." To many the French Revolution seems only a series of bloody and dramatic events; it was in reality a permanent European upheaval. It was "a conquest in the spheres of thought, society, and politics, effected by a people over the old systems of authority, class privilege, and absolute rule."[1] Great new political ideas suddenly burst on the mind of a world in which governing policies centered round the fortunes of royal houses and the strife between dynasties, and in which the efforts of statesmen were concentrated on alliances designed to maintain a balance of power.

The thunderclap of 1789 sounded the doom of the old systems of government in Europe. In France, from the brilliant pens of Voltaire and Rousseau, there poured forth with extraordinary charm and lucidity new conceptions of society, which were flashed from end to end of Europe. The *Contrat Social* was a veritable gospel of "the sovereignty of the general will," and the great new words LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY, became the watchword of the new movement. Events were soon to show that, in the words of Lord Acton, "Ideas are the cause and not the result of

[1] J. Holland Rose, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, 1789-1815, p. 1.

public events." For a time it seemed as if the Revolution only succeeded in setting up a "reign of terror" in France, and in threatening the fabric of government everywhere. Practically all Europe was hostile, and there was little expectation that chaotic France could maintain herself in face of a continent arrayed against her. But "the heir to the Revolution" was already on the horizon; the little Corsican corporal was dreaming of a European States-General. The kaleidoscopic change of the vision from States-General to masterful Empire only made a new highway for the revolutionary doctrines. The rise of the Napoleonic despotism in no way checked the Revolution; it carried its seeds to every country in Europe. The whole continent was rotten-ripe for change, and the decay everywhere of the old order had prepared the way for a devastating upheaval. The real strength of the new movement was that it was an upheaval of the mind of man, an intellectual ferment which bequeathed its fervent doctrines to posterity. The new ideas were too strong for any despotism to destroy. The smashing up of the old monarchies by Napoleon was just such a clearing of the ground of effete litter as gave room to the new ideas to germinate everywhere. After the reactions of the terrible early years, the Revolution hibernated for a period, but lived on. The questions it raised would not sleep; after half a century it broke out afresh everywhere, and Europe was again shaken to its foundation. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the general will is still loudly proclaimed in national and international affairs.

In England, after some hesitation, the forces of

Church and State were arrayed with the powers of Central Europe against revolutionary France, as again and again the movement burst through all control and issued in red riot and massacre. It is hardly strange that Christian men in England regarded the situation with horror as they viewed what, at close range, seemed appalling moral dissolution and the ruin of stable society through fanaticism riding on uncontrolled and reckless despotism.

Everywhere antagonism sprang up between the Church and the Revolution. The incident illustrates a situation which has arisen again and again in history. The Church has too often been opposed to new movements of thought and to anything that seemed to affect the social fabric, from considerations relating to transient and superficial events, and not by any process of reason, or because of the positive vitality of its life or a fresh application of the principles of Jesus. This attitude often leads to an evil reaction—the dechristianization of many new movements which are really in the interest of progress, and in which the powerful influence of religion has for a time at least been lost with disastrous results.

"Was there a necessary and fundamental quarrel between the doctrines of the Revolution and those of the Catholic Church?" asks Hilaire Belloc.[1] A survey of the history of the last hundred years undoubtedly raises the question of what has been and what is the relation of religion to the democratic movement in the modern world. Is this great stream of modern democracy in Christian and non-Christian lands an enemy

[1] *The French Revolution*, p. 217.

to the expansion of Christianity, or may it be its handmaid? Must it flow on outside that great central stream we would fain see become a River of Life to a thirsty world?

III

When the expansion of England was taking on new dimensions in the middle of the eighteenth century and Rousseau was flashing forth with such brilliance his new doctrine of human society, a hard-headed Scots boy, meditating deeply over a boiling kettle, conceived the idea of harnessing steam to the service of man. James Watt's steam engine (1769) marked the beginning of still another great stream in the life of the modern world. The steam engine is one of the many new inventions and improved processes which have characterized the unparalleled development of industry and commerce during the last hundred and fifty years. That development covered the whole range of industry, first in textiles, then in iron and steel, and, combined with the development of steam power, the introduction of machine tools, the railway, the steamboat and the electric telegraph, brought about that general and rapid expansion which is well termed "the industrial revolution"—for it was nothing less than a revolution, if not in dramatic swiftness, certainly in far-reaching consequences.

The industrial revolution has served to meet the rapidly increasing material needs of growing populations, has made available the underground mineral wealth of the world, and has given cheap and quick

transport. It has stimulated research and created a demand for knowledge, it has made accessible in cheap form the literature of all the ages, has been the handmaid of science and art, and has vastly promoted human comfort. In estimating the influence of this stream of life on the spirit of man these things must be borne in mind; but supremely, the industrial revolution gave to the world a new social and economic order.

The outstanding feature of this new social and economic order is the rise of the modern capitalist system. Money has undoubtedly become one of the greatest forces in the world. It has played a dominating part in the history of mankind during the last century and a half; it has created a new end for collective human energy—the making of profit. It certainly exercises political influence: a cynic has described modern governments as "bank clerks."

Another notable feature of the industrial revolution was the mushroom growth of the great industrial towns, until now over three fourths of the people of Great Britain are housed in urban areas. This crowding of population has created bad housing conditions. In Scotland nearly half of the population are living in one- or two-roomed houses, or to put the facts in another form, about forty-five per cent of the population of Scotland are living more than two to a room. These housing conditions are reflected in health: high infant mortality and urbanization go together; in typical cases in Lancashire towns one child in every four dies before the age of five. Such high mortality implies morbidity in those who survive, and while there has been a marked improvement in public health in recent

years, the rate of improvement is handicapped by housing conditions. The improvement has been the greatest among the middle and upper classes; the period which made England wealthy did not provide corresponding improvement in the conditions of the masses of her people.

A third result of the industrial revolution is that on almost the entire industrial plane it has introduced impersonal relations between employer and worker, creating a sense of unrelated, or even hostile, interest. It also makes for separation of class from class, so that today every great city presents sharp divisions of classes and districts, by a process of imitation downwards, through "black-coat" and artisan, artisan and laborer, and laborer and "casual."

Industrialism has given to the world war between capital and labor. Employers and employed have formed opposing camps, and so we have Employers' Associations and Trade Unions. The latter were at first illegal, then tolerated, then free, and are now very powerful, though less so than just before the War. The last century witnessed a long fight for wages, for hours, for conditions of work, for liberty to combine, and for a share in the control of industry. The Factory Acts are a record of struggle to minimize the growing evils of industrial life. Antagonism grew with the years of struggle. The roots of much of it lie in past history, but the full effects of social wrongs live on for decades: "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge." Today the antagonism and bitterness are perhaps accentuated by a growing demand for a higher standard of

life in face of stringent economic conditions. Roughly, we are at pre-war standards for the worker, and some leaders of industry doubt whether even that can be maintained. This clouded outlook is further darkened by the specter of unemployment which stalks through the land like a moral pestilence.

Then industry still takes too big a toll of human life. On an average, five railway workers in England are killed each week and about fifty-one are injured daily, while in coal mines one hundred men a month are killed by normal accident and there is one non-fatal accident *in each year* for every six workers.

In our day the pace of industry has been greatly accelerated. Applied science has harnessed the forces of nature to the needs of man. Wireless, high-speed oil engines, the motor car, the aero-bus, all quicken the rate of progress. Wrong influences work more havoc by reason of the greater pace, and the possibilities of social and moral disaster are more numerous.

The foregoing is only a very rough outline of some of the main features of our industrial system, a growth of the last hundred and fifty years, huge, complex, rendering unique service to mankind, controlled by capital, carried on with ruthless competition, the one end being economic gain, with employers and employed ranged in hostile camps. The great bulk of both these groups are most excellent men and women, carrying heavy burdens and faced with the solution of problems from which we might well shrink. In so far as there is evil in the industrial system both are its victims, and in both groups the best men are worrying tremendously to find a way out. They are in dead

earnest seeking to do the right thing for the common good, and choice of action is often terribly perplexing.

It is more difficult to speak of this great stream of industrial life in relation to the religious life of the country. Our life during the last century has been spiritually defective in that people in and outside industry are more concerned with things than with ideas or people; the mind of the average young man today, not even excepting undergraduates, is probably more occupied with "mo-bikes" than with literature, science, or sociology. The lack of a sense of the spiritual in industry is shown by the fact that the business world never looks to the Church for a sure word. The typical captain of industry says he has no use for religion, that the Sermon on the Mount is impracticable, that Christianity and business won't square. This doctrine, if accepted, would strike at the very foundation of religion, for if God has no concern with one section of human life, how can we claim all life, or any life, for Him? With all their present evils, industry and commerce are necessary to any modern social system, they are spreading in all non-Christian lands and they form the greatest stream of the world's life. It would be calamitous if, in the expansion of the Kingdom of God, the Church must regard them as making no contribution to the City of God. It would be a heavy handicap if the Church had to carry on her task of world expansion with the influence of trade and commerce in both Christian and non-Christian lands flung into the other scale. She cannot be unconcerned as to whether the influence of industrial relations at home and abroad is for her or against her.

IV

The question of what was the influence of religion in all this movement of history asserts itself at every turn. After the Reformation period there was a drab backwater in religion in Europe. There were intermittent springs of new life, but these were inadequate to set new tides flowing. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, however, "there appeared a movement headed by a mighty leader, who brought forth water from the rocks to make a barren land live again."[1] Born in 1703, John Wesley began, at the age of thirty-five, those wonderful journeys on his gray mare from end to end of England, and his preaching tours in Scotland and America, which ushered in the dawn of a better day. With fresh insight into the heart of the gospel, he sounded the note of world evangelization and made ruthless war on all narrower conceptions. The new doctrine—"The world is my parish"—heralded the new age of Christianity. The great geographical discoveries that were to give new meaning to "the world" had not yet taken place, but in the Evangelical Revival led by John Wesley lay the seeds of the modern missionary enterprise which, however, did not take general organized form for half a century—a notable exception being the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, formed in 1701 for the maintenance of clergymen in the colonial settlements of England and for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts.

[1] H. W. V. Temperley, *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chap. ii, p. 76.

In 1786 in a Conference of Baptist ministers, William Carey, an obscure cobbler-preacher stirred by the story of Captain Cook's travels, proposed consideration of their responsibility to the heathen, and was told by the chairman to sit down as "a miserable enthusiast." But the ideal had been born and six years later the Baptist Missionary Society was formed after Carey's immortal sermon. The heroic leader had next to face the hostility of the then all-powerful East India Company which endeavored to exclude him from its territory, to reside in which he had to follow a secular calling. As, however, he "preached for the glory of God," and only worked on an indigo plantation to pay expenses, he was compelled to remove from the territory of the Company to Serampore where, under the protection of the King of Denmark, Carey carried on his great work. Carey's doctrine—"Expect great things from God and attempt great things for God"—had rooted. Society after Society was formed in Great Britain, on the continent of Europe and in America, to apply that doctrine in the system of foreign mission work. Within little more than half a century the once all-powerful Company became a thing of the dust and a byword among the nations, while in the India of today missionary institutions are among the most prized in the land; of Protestant missionaries alone there are over five thousand at work, and the total Christian community numbers nearly five million. Carey had planted a living idea.

"It was principally through the activity of missionaries," [1] as Ramsay Muir points out, that the new

[1] *The Expansion of Europe*, pp. 115-16.

humanitarian spirit, which fought and won the battle for the abolition of slavery throughout the Empire, was cultivated and expressed. From among the men of the Evangelical Revival came the leaders of the humanitarian movement. These were soon in deadly grips with slavery and other evils. Only after a long fight were they able in 1806 to put an end to the slave-trade, and it was not till 1833 that slavery in the British colonies was declared illegal. During the hundred years before the founding of modern missions the number of slaves imported into British colonies exceeded two million.[1] The enormous size of the trade will be realized when it is recalled that for every slave landed five more were estimated to have perished. Organized religion may too often have been silent, but outstanding men in the churches have again and again made vocal the wrongs of our fellow-men in various parts of the world until the very words "Exeter Hall" were at once a glory and a term of contempt. But the fact was overlooked that the Evangelical Revival was only one phase of our intellectual upheaval, and only part of the new mentality was captured for Jesus Christ.

Although the expansion of Christianity was so profoundly affected by the expansion of empire, by the intellectual upheavals at home, and by the development of a world's trade and commerce, the problem of whether these forces could be brought into the service of Christ in one common stream of Godward life was discerned by few. The Church went her way in unconscious isolation, handicapped in her efforts to preach the Evangel to all the world by the effect of

[1] The total population of England in 1801 was only 8,900,000.

the impact of these other streams of life flowing from the homeland to every non-Christian land.

It is a startling fact that over a century after Carey it was possible within four years of each other to have a World Missionary Conference[1] and a World War. May the reason for that strange spectacle lie in the fact that in these hundred years the expansion of Christianity was isolated even in the mind and thought of the Church, and was hardly present at all in the mind and thought of the world? The triumphs of the first hundred years of missions far exceeded all expectations; they are veritable new Acts of the Apostles, but the handicaps to the work cannot be ignored. For, however faithfully the Church occupies every square inch of the earth's surface, it will not truly have occupied until its message has claimed territory more important than can be expressed in geographical terms. Every region of human action and every movement of human life in non-Christian lands must be claimed for Christ if the gospel is to be effectively preached, and it is almost idle for the missionary to undertake that task if the impact in these lands of the corresponding regions of life in the homeland is not Godward. The missionary message of England is the whole impact of English life on those that sit in darkness, for with the missionary message of the Church goes the missionary or non-missionary message of national life. The two combined constitute our message to the non-Christian world, and the Church will not be able to make her message fully effective until the

[1] The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, attended by 1,200 delegates from all parts of the world.

current of national life and influence flows in one great central stream infused with Christian principles. "There is an imperative spiritual demand that national life and influence as a whole be Christianized, so that the entire impact, commercial and political, now of the West upon the East, and now of the stronger races upon the weaker, may confirm, and not impair, the message of the missionary enterprise." [1]

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[1] *Message from the World Missionary Conference to the Church.*

CHAPTER II

NEW FACTORS IN THE WORLD'S LIFE

SEVERAL new factors in the world's life lent significance to the weighty words addressed to the Church by the World Missionary Conference, 1910, urging that national life and influence as a whole be Christianized. The last half of the nineteenth century had seen the strong growth of nationalism in Europe; its closing years had witnessed the rise of a new international ideal; early in the new century the race problem had taken shape and become acute, while, in the years after the War, all these movements received a new impetus from a rising tide of youth, so universal that in all lands men talk of it as "the Youth Movement." In this small volume we can look only very briefly at each of these.

I

The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, and the French Revolution, produced far-reaching and enduring effects in the growth of the spirit of nationality. Europe saw Greek and Italian nationality established; but reactions always followed every step forward. Successive attempts in Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and elsewhere to effect national independence were for the time being abortive. The national instinct, however, always reasserted itself. Revolution broke out in various countries—France, Spain, Portugal—where the people felt that

the national spirit was not being adequately expressed in popular self-government. It was through an appeal to national pride that Bismarck, on the wave of victory in the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, effected the unity of Germany.

The nationalist movement was till the beginning of the present century almost entirely confined to Europe, and at any rate was found only among men of the white race. The rise of the United States was due to an attempt to govern arbitrarily, and not to any sense of nationalism. The Canadian rebellion of 1837-8 was due more to political grievances than to any growth of nationalist ideas; Lord Durham's remedy—proved by subsequent events—was to substitute responsible self-government for "a system of rigid control." The Indian mutiny of 1857 was not so much a national movement as an entirely unexpected outbreak led by a section of the Indian army worked up by an appeal to unredressed grievances and religious susceptibilities. The nationalist movement in India was to emerge much later. The repeated treks northward of the Boer farmers in South Africa, resulting in the formation of the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State, is practically the only modern example outside Europe, before the present century, of the assertion of nationality. With the new century, however, the situation swiftly changed, and the rise of nationalism in extra-European lands has created many perplexities and delicate problems for the missionaries from the West and the native Christian communities alike.

The nineteenth century was barely closed when an

event took place which precipitated a new national spirit in non-Christian lands. For long, Japan had steadily resisted all outside influence: the early Jesuit mission was repelled, foreign trade was forbidden, and the island empire of the Far East was a closed land. The doors were practically forced about the middle of the nineteenth century and British and American commerce gradually penetrated the country; but not until 1883 was all Japan thrown open. In the next twenty years the development of the country was phenomenal, and Japan looked covetously across to Asia for new territories for her people. Meanwhile Russia had steadily crept eastward to the Pacific coast and it was inevitable that sooner or later the two empires should clash. On the battlefield of Moukden (1905) little Japan emerged triumphant over the might of the old Russia. The effect was volcanic and electric. It stirred the sense of nationality in land after land. Nationalism was no longer a European idea, it was world-wide, and a new factor was brought into the world situation. This new phase was accelerated by the World War, and the fresh impetus given to nationality in Europe has had its repercussions in India, China, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Arabia, North Africa, and elsewhere.

There have been no great shiftings of the scene of history that have not also been charged with meaning for the Christian Church, and the modern nationalist movement in non-Christian lands affects its task, imposes fresh responsibilities, and offers new opportunities. Old faiths are crumbling away by mere contact with the facts of the modern world; Christianity is

rejected as the vanguard of western penetration; and today more lands than one are threatened with the fate of a people that have no God. The catastrophe may mean that in a land like China a nation may be bereft of religion in a single generation. Nationalism charged with Christianity is one of the noblest things on God's earth; without the spirit of Christ it may shrink into the most selfish system the world has witnessed. One task of the Church in the world today is everywhere to make the national spirit Christian.

II

While nationalism was penetrating the Orient the Old World was groping after a unifying internationalism. The Hague—the old, quaint capital of Holland, so full of interest to the lover of art and the student of history—has in the years since the World War been rather eclipsed by Geneva as the Mecca of internationalism. But twenty-five years before the birth of the League of Nations men everywhere were feeling that the social fabric was hardly adequate to sustain the burden of a world-wide civilization based on the ideal of the unity of mankind. For years national jealousies, acute political crises, and fierce commercial rivalries made a forward step difficult, but in 1899, due to the untiring efforts of friends of goodwill, the first International Peace Conference met at the Hague. This was followed by a second Conference in 1907, and from these historic meetings emerged the first permanent Court of International Arbitration. The Hague had in the old days witnessed more than one

gathering of representatives of many nations to make international agreements, but all of them were designed to promote military alliances or to secure some advantage to one or other of the signatories. Now for the first time in history an agreement had been come to by the leading governments of the world recognizing the place of judicial processes in settling international disputes. The Hague Conventions were only the small beginnings of the rule of law among the nations. In this conception, however, lies the true antidote to selfish nationality. It opened a great door wide to the Church and cast upon her the large task of helping forward the true international spirit in every land. The ultimate sanction for the rule of law in international relations lies in the law of God; His is the only bar at which principles of right and duty for men and states can ultimately be tested. But the great hopes born at the Hague were doomed to eclipse: in 1914 there came a disconcerting reaction.

Paradoxically, during the World War there was a cry everywhere for internationalism. Peace was to usher in something like competition among the nations to set up a state of things in which right would be forever on the throne. Man's instincts are truest and his impulses most right when in the big crises of life he is called to rise to superhuman effort and sacrifice. But the white heat of the new sentiment cooled with the lengthening strife, and within a few weeks of the Armistice the pendulum swung violently the other way and the nations were functioning far below their best intentions. The new internationalism had for the time missed its opportunity, and narrow nationalism ran

riot. Eager to secure firmly long threatened national rights, to realize cherished hopes of independence, or to maintain and strengthen national interests, men in every land were unconsciously carried into mutual antagonisms which hardened as the months went by.

The new underlying assumption was that nationality had to be strengthened and fenced in in every possible way; the nations were soon feverishly harnessing everything to its service, and erecting fresh barriers against their neighbors. To many men in Christian as well as non-Christian lands, nationality and internationality are still to a large extent incompatible ideals, and this great region of human life and thought has to be permeated with the spirit of Jesus. The highest appeal for an international spirit lies in the Christian conception of God the Father of all mankind seeking to make the kingdoms of this world the Kingdom of His Christ.

III

In these days much attention is being given to another world phenomenon—the race problem—which had also emerged on the horizon before the Edinburgh Conference of 1910.

For five hundred years European civilization has been steadily expanding to the ends of the earth, beginning with the days when Columbus discovered America and Vasco da Gama rounding the Cape of Good Hope reached India. The dividing seas became the easy highway of increasing western domination, until at the beginning of this century practically the

whole world of color, bowing to superior force, acknowledged white leadership—passively at least—and did homage to white prestige.

While various motives can be found for this aggressive expansion of European influence on the colored races there can be no doubt that the primary motive was search for wealth. The glittering prize was "the gold of the Indies." This inevitably brought the nations of Europe into collision not only with the various colored peoples of the world, but also with each other. For the mastery of North America and India many of the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were fought. There was more bad feeling among whites in those days than between whites and colored peoples, and when white held white in contempt, it is hardly to be expected that either would be over-scrupulous in their dealings with weaker people of other color. The rise of humanitarianism led in more recent years to the removal of some of the worst abuses. It swept away slavery, made an end of the East India Company, and gradually enthroned law. A higher and nobler conception of human relationships has grown up and the nations have accepted the principle of trusteeship for backward peoples, although, on balance, the motive of self-interest still plays a large part in the relationship of white peoples with those of Asia and Africa.

This long policy of the pursuit of self-interest and unchallenged domination inevitably left a deep mark on the mind of the white man. It gave him a sense of superiority, of conquering energy and daring, of masterful enterprise, knowledge and capacity, and it is

hardly surprising that he should as a rule despise what Kipling rather unhappily calls "lesser breeds," and should consider himself a man apart. In the case of Britons these views were exaggerated by a consciousness of sea power, unrivaled commerce and wide empire, and of a unique genius for political institutions and government administration.

Thus it was at the end of the nineteenth century—but already the hour of challenge was at hand. After the decisive defeat on the plains of Manchuria of *white* Russia by *yellow* Japan the white man was no longer considered invincible, and the World War put an end to his prestige. He lost face throughout the world in statesmanship, in arms, and in religion. Today all races are self-conscious and challenge any suggestion of inherent inferiority. And arising out of this fierce clash of wills we have the modern race problem. Its salient facts can only be stated in this book very briefly.[1]

In North America there are three race problems. The first of these is concerned with the assimilation into American citizenship of European immigrants of different stock. The second problem arises from the presence in the United States of over ten million Negroes—freed slaves and their descendants—a child race, but (in theory at least) equal citizens of a great state with the most advanced whites. The cherished belief that the African belongs unchangeably to a child

[1] Readers are referred to several excellent books on this subject which have recently been issued: *Race and Race Relations*, by Robert E. Speer; *Christianity and the Race Problem*, by J. H. Oldham; *The Clash of Color*, by Basil Mathews. See book list at end of this chapter.

race is, however, being steadily challenged and slowly destroyed. There is no more thrilling page in history than the story of how in the lifetime of middle-aged men of today, five million American Negroes (now doubled in number) stranded and embarrassed by a newly won freedom, have steadily grown in sturdy self-respect, economic independence and responsible citizenship. Separated by less than sixty years from the status of slavery, one in every fourteen owns his home, and illiteracy is rapidly disappearing, seventy-eight per cent of the colored people now being able to read and write. This upward tendency is regarded with mingled hope and fear; it is even resented, and there are millions of whites today who would forcibly hinder it in the interest of white domination. These collisions of the "will to rise" and the "will to repress" constitute a grave race problem.

America has not only her race problem of the south, but also of the west. Japan cannot carry her own population, and her lithe and active sons cross the Pacific to America, who seeks to avoid within her own gates deadly economic competition on unequal terms. If Japan were weak and helpless, there would be no problem; but the great new fact is that the emergence of Japan—one of the tinted peoples—as a first-class power, puts her in a position to press for equal rights. America is undoubtedly entitled to control the character of her own population, but in so doing she has created for herself a specially acute race problem by discriminating on grounds of color against the citizens of another strong state. A significant fact to be noted is that the sympathies of Canada are instinctively with

their American cousins in the attitude of the latter to the people of Japan.

In the African continent a medley of races is involved in the color problem. Within the South African Union, Boer, Briton, and African (black and "colored") are involved, all living on different economic and social planes; and, with what might be called impish irony, the fates have added immigration from India and China to this tangle of race. In Kenya "Codlin" and "Short" in the shape of Briton and Indian are holding out rival friendly hands to the puzzled native. In other parts of Africa the problem is that of the adjustment of right relations between a few whites and large masses of blacks in what must—climatically—be a black man's country. The race element in the problem is easily stirred by questions circling round government, education, taxation, land, and labor, and these problems are not made easier by the weakening or break-up of the tribal system and the introduction of liquor. We shall return to Africa in a later chapter.[1]

Australia is sixty times the size of England, but she has a population a million and three quarters less than that of Greater London. This huge country with its sparse population of whites is faced with the dread of being flooded, through Chinese immigration, with another race having a lower economic level of life. The land is capable of a development far beyond the possibilities of its small population, and the masses of China covet entry to the vacant territory. The races stand over against each other hostile and watchful.

[1] See Chap. IV.

In Hindustan the Indian challenges the political ascendancy of the white race. Probably the rise of nationalism all the world over has considerably affected the Indian, but the challenge is bound up with racial considerations. He sees that the problems of Ireland, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia are regarded as matters for the Irish, the Poles, and the Czechs, that the problems of Japan are primarily for the Japanese, of Egypt for the Egyptians, and of China for the Chinese. This gives him a sense of race inferiority. He is dissatisfied that he is in a different position; he does not want things done *for him,* however well; he wishes to do things for himself, to have the destinies of his own life subject ultimately only to his own will. His political revolt is undoubtedly helped by a strong reaction against western civilization and a fresh appreciation of the intellectual and spiritual heritage of India.

These few general examples illustrate the attitude of the colored races toward the white. The revolt of the colored races is not merely against political domination or even economic exploitation. There has been an access of self-consciousness, an understanding on the part of all races of the riches of their own inheritance, and there is a fierce desire to protect the old cultures against the destructive and disintegrating forces of the materialism of the West.

The colored races are conscious of overwhelming numerical supremacy. There are six hundred and fifty-five million Mongolians alone, three hundred and nineteen millions of Indians, one hundred and ninety million Negroes in Africa and America, and one hundred and fifty million more of non-white races else-

where. These huge populations create in the countries where they are most crowded an impelling need for expansion, and a growing demand for free access to all lands on equal terms. This in turn creates an openly expressed hostility, on the part of sections of the white race, to this surging tide of color. That hostility extends to all progress of colored races, social, political, and economic. It rests on two things. First, there is the legitimate desire to prevent depression of European and American standards of life to the levels of Asia or primitive Africa. Competition on different economic levels will force the white man down to the level on which he can compete with colored men, and that would be an unmitigated evil. The rapid industrialization of the Orient, with which we shall deal in the next chapter, and the development of the natural resources of Africa, make this a very real problem. In the second place there is the fear of unrestricted immigration with its threat to white civilization and culture. It is acute in North America, Australia, and East and South Africa, where respectively Japanese, Chinese and Indians, each with their own peculiar social development so different from that of the white, seek an outlet for surplus population and offer illimitable cheap labor.

Perhaps bulking more in the mind of the average man is the supposed threat to racial purity through intermarriage. The problem of intermixture without marriage the white man has made for himself. There are in South Africa alone five hundred and forty-five thousand[1] "colored" people (i.e., the descendants of

[1] *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, 1923, p. 133.

African mothers and fathers of other races), which means that one non-European in every ten is "colored." The thorny path that problem creates for mankind is one the white man should share, if only as an act of restitution for his part in the making of the problem. The question of intermarriage is much more difficult, but it is really a much smaller problem than intermixture, for general intermarriage at different stages of social development is hardly probable and the fear of it need not fence off the races. Marriage is a social institution, the very basis of human society; its perfect conception is Christian marriage where the man and woman marry as one in Christ. Short of that conception racial intermarriage, in view of all the difficulties, is likely to be a tragedy. Many difficulties and disabilities will have to be faced. Race operates like caste: the children will be outside the pale in white and colored society; relatives on both sides have to be reckoned with; in many cases it will involve acute poverty, for economically the couple will be outcast; and it will always mean for one, if not for both, a complete readjustment to new conditions of life. The difficulties are not really biological but are external to the two people concerned: at bottom they are due to the views and prejudices arising from different cultures, and social customs. But intermarriage is a hard road and only rare spirits should try it.

These paragraphs are all too brief and bald a summary of some of the more important facts concerning the race problem. How is the problem being met?

There is a school of white men, ably represented by

Lothrop Stoddard,[1] who argue that the rest of mankind is inherently inferior physically, mentally, and morally to the people of northern Europe, and must, for the preservation of the nordic race, be kept in perpetual subjection. It might be said in answer that the nordic race is a myth: the Finns are Asiatic, the Scots are Celts and so forth. A study of race migration would suggest that "race" itself is a myth. Stoddard does not seem to allow enough for the fact that stability in civilization rests on character alone. History contains no record of any people being able to keep another in perpetual subjection; "the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong." The nordic peoples are not supremely gifted. They are rich in soldiers, seamen, adventurers, traders—in short, conquerors—but they have not the monopoly of prophets, poets, artists and statesmen. The founders of all the great religions were Asiatics. The nordic race has distinctive gifts, but so have the other races.

Then there are schools of Negro thought which hold the opposite doctrine. The first is represented by men like DuBois, author of *Souls of Black Folk* and *Darkwater,* a man of great capacity into whose soul the iron has entered and who preaches the impossibility of cooperation between white and black. The conclusive answer to DuBois seems to be that in spite of all the difficulties in the way of cooperation, isolation is impossible. Men simply cannot live apart in our modern world. Then there is the Negro leader, Marcus Garvey, who preaches unrelenting warfare on the white race. His cherished vision is of a day that will see

[1] See *The Rising Tide of Color,* Lothrop Stoddard.

war break out between the East and the West, when the Negroes' chance will come. "War," says Garvey, "is the only way by which man can obtain salvation." Garvey and men like him are doubtless extremists, but they cannot be dismissed as mere froth; in a crisis they might work incalculable ruin to thousands of their deluded followers.

Over against these extreme views there is the Christian conception of man, and the Christian way of human progress: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." His design is that all men everywhere should come "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" who is redeeming men "out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation," and is making them "kings and priests" unto God. If that is true, there is a plane on which all races and civilizations are assimilated into something higher, disaster is averted, and the difficulties enumerated just become the rough places on the road.

If the rough places are to be made smooth, the Church has a great task. She must seek to win a respect for all races, recognizing differences of gift and function, and stirring her members to an honest attempt to rid the mind of prejudice. The full expansion of Christianity to all the world is bound up in a continuous effort to uplift every race, to give men the best we have got, to secure equality of justice for all, to insure maximum opportunity to all men—not the same opportunity but equal opportunity. In the family the children are all differently gifted physically, mentally, and temperamentally; the parents love all and

help all—not in the same way, but in the measure of the need of each, with greater solicitude for the greater need. The Church must not shirk the still more difficult task of making men willing to throw responsibility on men of other color, according to gifts and capacities. The gospel assumes the equality of all men before God, and declares that they have equal access to God and that any man may become a temple of His Spirit.

Missions are helped or handicapped in so far as the influence of people within the Church is or is not thrown on the side of right solutions of race problems. There is in these days no more vital touchstone of living faith. Men have got to see that there is only one primary conflict in the world—not white against black, or brown, or yellow, not East against West; but right against wrong, the true against the false, and Christ against anti-Christ in whatever garb it clothes itself.

IV

In a graphic paragraph a well-known Christian publicist paints in a few sentences a picture of the seething mind of youth—another of the great world ferments of the present time:

Sit in the snug quiet of an undergraduate's room at midnight in Oxford, or listen to the talk of youth over a Lyons' tea-table in Leadenhall Street. Ask what is in the mind of the hot-headed youth of Delhi or the undergraduates of the flaming renaissance movement that radiates from the University of Peking through

China and is transforming the leadership of the most numerous people in the world. Ask what the young Negroes, whose older brothers have come back furious from the war to demand equal rights with the whites, are saying. Look at the daughter and mother in an English home gazing at each other physically across three feet of dining table, but intellectually and spiritually across the deepest and widest chasm that has ever separated two generations. Read Rose Macaulay's *Dangerous Ages,* J. E. Buckrose's *The Privet Hedge,* and all the hundred other novels of today that reveal the heart of the new youth. Over all these ranges of life, and in every continent of the world today, you will find the seething mind of youth facing the new problems of the new world in a new way.[1]

This rising tide of youth is one of the signs of the times. It is marked by intellectual alertness, by social passion, by a refusal to bow to tradition or authority, or time-worn convention or custom. It does not hold gray hairs in reverence; it frankly scorns middle age. "Too old at forty" is one of the convictions of youth today.

The youth movement is universal. That most venerable of all institutions, the British House of Commons, has seen in recent years newly-elected members still in the vigor of middle age introduced to "Mr. Speaker" by their own sons. Even solemn Church Congresses have been almost hectored by ardent youth which has accused the Church of having come under middle-aged control. The students of a well-known theological college have defined their own Church as

[1] Basil Mathews, *Zion's Herald,* October 18, 1923.

"the negation of youth erected into a system." This is not merely an amusing parody; it reflects an underlying rebel spirit.

These young people in the shops and offices, workshops and factories, colleges and universities of Great Britain, tell us emphatically that they are sick of the dismal failure of these post-war days. Youth is always the age of criticism; it is cynical about political parties and programs, cynical about the sincerity of statesmen, more than doubtful about the value of the Church, and intolerant of sect and creed. But the youth who are caught up in the new movement, while critical and cynical, are terribly in earnest. That is the paradoxical character of the youth movement in our time.

Young people across the Atlantic are sharing the thought of their British cousins. In the colleges of North America there has been almost open revolt against the leadership of the older generation, because of doubt by the young as to whether the old had any sure word for them about the problems created by the War. The youth of America are asking "What is wrong with the world, and why?" They think that "all the world, including the United States and Canada, regardless of what it may say it believes or professes to follow, in its actual life and living conditions is today essentially pagan."[1] And what is true of Great Britain and America has its counterpart on the continent, in the older countries of the Orient, in the Near East, and among the youth of the Negro race.

In Germany there is a strange, somewhat Bohemian,

[1] *Christian Students and World Problems* (Report of Indianapolis Convention, 1924), p. 2.

movement among young people. The pre-war Germany demanded subordination from its youth; individualism had almost disappeared in the efficient national machine; the state religion was the handmaid of the doctrine of rigid obedience. But even then there were rebels who refused to submit their own spirits to a national system, and one of these founded a new movement of young men and women who felt that their search into the why and wherefore must not be controlled by teachers or parents. They called themselves the *Wandervögel* from their habit of wandering in the open country. After various ups and downs the astute German drill-sergeant was able to give the movement a semi-military formation. It became the "Young Guard," and in 1914 was engulfed in the War. The organization reemerged after 1918 and its spirit has already captured a large part of the youth of German gymnasia and universities and has rooted firmly among working men and women. Its outlook is very broad. At a meeting of leaders in 1919 the movement was pledged to "seek the elimination of all distinctions of race and class which divide common humanity." It relies on the birth of character through fearless thought and through fresh contact with nature to realize this objective. The movement is preaching a new manner of life, with simpler requirements, temperate habits, with a mixture of puritanism and a real appreciation of all good life. Here is a picture of one of the wandering groups:

From the distance, around the bend of the wood where the road dipped down to the river, came the

music of a number of instruments, soft but of marked rhythm. I was sure that I had never heard anything like it before. My companion said, "Wait, and you will see" In a few minutes a troupe of some thirty or forty young men and women passed us at a rapid stride, walking in loose lines with arms interlaced or holding hands. Guitars were hung from the shoulders of strapping young fellows by colored ribbons whose ends fluttered in the wind. The band was in curious costume; of the girls some were in peasant dresses of printed cottons, their hair coiled around their heads in braids, following a fashion which has spread all over Germany as a deliberate defiance of imported styles; others wore even simpler and more colorful garments and ribbons around their hair. The youths wore tunics or shirts open at the throat. . . . With eyes shining they passed by, absorbed in song or earnest talk.

"*Wandervögel?*" I asked my companion. I had heard years before the war of the organization of these "migratory birds" that had taken thousands of young people out of the crowded cities on holidays and created a cult of outdoor life and lore such as Germany had not known for generations.

"Better than that," he replied, "they are of the new democratic youth movement (*freideutsche Jugendbewegung*) which has broken all ties with merely protective societies organized for the young by the old." [1]

And the youth movement in Germany has its counterpart in almost all the other countries of Europe. Nor are youth movements confined to the white youth of the world. They are perhaps strongest of all in the Orient.

[1] *Youth and Renaissance Movements*, p. 68.

It is difficult for a westerner to estimate the change represented by the youth movement in China or, as it is sometimes called, the "New Thought" movement. Several millenniums of the culture represented by the old scholars, to whom a single quotation from Confucius was sufficient authority for any maxim or any custom, have been swept aside by the new learning. So complete is this national revolution that in spite of the present turmoil, continual civil war, and of the absolute breakdown of government, modern education on national lines and the New Thought movement are progressing everywhere. The youth in the Chinese colleges and schools will accept nothing that is not critically examined and found to rest on a scientific basis. They want democratic government and a reformed social order, and are increasingly opposed to the growth of western influence, which they feel to be merely the continuation of the old aggression. Paradoxically, foreign literature is more and more eagerly read, and the Peking Society for Lecturers on New Learning is bringing to China a small procession of British and American publicists, who are warmly welcomed. "Nothing is too new to be discussed in China today, and nothing too radical for experiment." [1]

The young everywhere are demanding the control of their own lives. A flourishing Chinese Women's Rights League is seeking equal political rights, equality of rights of inheritance, and equal opportunity in education, a marriage law effecting equality between men and women, a law fixing an age of consent, the abolition of licensed prostitution, the slave-trade, and

[1] Timothy Lew in *China Today Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 38.

foot-binding, "equal pay for equal work," and "protection of motherhood"—and all this in a land where till within the present century the generation of today has been chained to the generations of all the past centuries.

The youth of India are the torch-bearers of the nationalist movement. The student world has led in the new aspirations and demands, and everyone now recognizes that the soul of Young India is behind nationalism. An acute observer tells us that it is hardly possible to magnify the seriousness of the discontent among the students of India. Nationalism absorbs the mind of youth, and one very real danger in India is that the young men of India may take an exclusively national view of all public questions in their concentration on the demand for freedom to fashion their own destiny. It may be doubted whether western forms of government can be easily adapted to oriental institutions; some new system has to be devised whereby when the western hand comes off the tiller, Indian pilots can guide the ship of state along lines suited to the genius of her peoples. However baffling are the problems of that transition, they must be faced with sympathy and courage, and in that effort it is with the youth of India that Britain will have to reckon.

Great common features run through all this national ferment of youth in every land. Everywhere it is a revolt against "The God of Things as They Are." It is permeated by an essential unity. Youth is the only "International" today, everywhere rebel, everywhere united by some subtle alchemy. Statesmen, church-

men, capitalists, and socialists have all failed to effect a real "International"; the young everywhere are taking a world view.

In many lands the youth movement is unorganized or is confined to small groups, but its power does not lie in numbers or organization. It has been well said that "if five per cent of the people knew what they wanted they could change the face of the country."

The great power of the youth movement lies in its new living thought, its social passion, its open mind. And yet with this open-mindedness there does not come everywhere an easy access for Christianity. Large numbers of men and women in the youth movement name the Name of Jesus Christ; in the colleges and high schools of the world their number exceeds a quarter of a million. But in the old lands youth has revolted from narrow pietism—it abhors statecraft and churchcraft; it does not see that Christianity stands for the good against the evil everywhere, that it is the supreme fermenting force in the world. In the non-Christian lands Christianity is too often merely regarded as foreign propaganda; while in China there is an anti-Christian Students' Movement, bitterly hostile to and actively opposing the spread of Christianity, in which it professes to see only western imperialism, militarism, and capitalism in a new form.

Only a movement with the fervor of a religion can capture youth, and yet youth everywhere is challenging religion. Why do we have thousands of eager Italian boys in black shirts following a flag for hours in dust and heat? Why are there six hundred thousand members of the *Komsomol,* or Communist Youth Move-

ment? Why are there thirty German Youth Movements, all impelled by a desire to escape from the trammels of the past? Why the China Renaissance Youth Movement? Why the Japanese Senanden? Why have communist students captured the student world in the Universities of Athens, Sofia, and Prague and other continental towns so that Christian students are driven to inquire, "How can we get from our members as much loyalty and certainty about Christianity as the young communists have about communism?" Youth, in all these movements, asserts that the task before man "is to strive for a new spirit, the vanquishment of right by love, of authority by an inner freedom, constraint by a cosmic restraint."[1] It does not, however, hear the sure word "Love is of God"; it has not yet entered into the liberty wherewith Christ has made men free, nor learned the love of Christ which constraineth, nor has it seen in Him the great leader of the youth of the world.

All these volcanic national and racial upheavals, all the fierce stirring of the mind of youth, may appear superficially to be merely uncontrolled forces resulting only in a mischievous clash of wills, issuing in wild anarchy. In reality, stripped of all excrescences, they are a healthy upheaval of the human spirit breaking through the stifling crust of "things as they are" for a breath of fresh air. In the desire to be free men hit out blindly at everything which appears to stand for the old cramping order of things. But all upward movements of the spirit of men are born of the Spirit

[1] *Youth and Renaissance Movements*, p. 77.

of God. Our task is to interpret them, to find what is of God in them, to help them to purge themselves of all that is dross, and to relate them to the coming of His Kingdom.

The issues raised by all these movements touch the expansion of Christianity very closely. Heralds of the Cross everywhere have to preserve a right attitude to nationalism in State and Church. Nothing would be a greater barrier to religion than that Jesus Christ should be regarded as a western national. In an effective international standard lies the only hope in some lands for adequate personal and religious liberty, decent government, and a fair chance for the young Church to carry the gospel and give Christian education to her own people. Race antipathies in the membership of a Church paralyze its life and negative its message; in a Christian nation they very easily handicap the foreign missionary and impair his mission. What an ally the youth of the world might be in making that message effective! Here are great regions of human life lying athwart the Church in her task of world-wide expansion, which demand new and enlarged ideals of the enterprise.

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CHAPTER III

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE ORIENT

In Chapter I we saw how the failure of Christianity to permeate to any large extent the great movements of human activity and thought which broke out in the middle of the eighteenth century, made possible one hundred and fifty years later a World Missionary Conference and a World War within four years of each other. In Chapter II we looked at some of the new world-wide movements which must needs be Christianized if they are to help and not hinder the message of the missionary enterprise. We aim in these next four chapters at dealing with a few of the present-day movements in the non-Christian world which present fresh regions of material and mental development for occupation by the Church of Christ. The present chapter deals with the industrialization of the Orient. This and similar movements are making the world with which the new generation will have to deal, and are creating the conditions under which the expansion of Christianity has to be carried on.

Before the World War fastened a new set of problems on a distressed world, the Far East had already its full share of upheaval. On the surface the "unchanging East" was much the same as for centuries past, but, in the last few decades, in India, China, and Japan three ancient civilizations have been swept into the great current of world-wide commerce and industry. These countries contain about one half of the total population of the globe, and while as yet only a

tithe of that huge mass of humanity has come under these new influences, the beginnings of a swift industrial revolution on western lines have undoubtedly set in. Commercial and industrial influences are far-reaching, and in so far as these ancient lands are becoming commercialized and industrialized, they are leaving much of the old life behind them. The people of the Orient are taking their place in the life of the world at a thousand points, and are now making their contribution to the great common stream of life from which issues the uplift or degradation of the whole human race.

I

In the case of India there was from time immemorial a certain amount of trading contact with the West. The gold of the Indies was the lure of many a merchant-adventurer, and long before the British conquest of India through the victories of Clive and Warren Hastings, a considerable trade had sprung up with Europe. Since Queen Elizabeth's time the East India Company had been silently prospering. Its charter was again and again extended; it was an entrenched monopoly, made huge profits, and developed a large trade. But not until the Company was finally abolished did the spirit of modern commerce and industry vitally touch India.

China had for ages presented closed doors to foreign adventurers. When Abraham emigrated from Chaldea to Canaan, the Chinese people had already begun to develop a language, a government, a religion, arts and

sciences, which have seldom been touched by any breath from the outside world during four thousand years. Canton was the first door to open, and became the trading port in China for the East India Company. The trade with Canton was not unattended with difficulties. The European "factories"[1] were confined to a very tiny territory, and when the Company offended, the Chinese suspension of trade by the latter was the effective method of disciplining the "foreign devils," who were invariably glad to renew trade relations by payment of an indemnity. Europeans were not allowed to touch at any other ports until after the first Opium War of 1841-2. Under the treaty made at the end of that war, five ports, Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuchow, Amoy, and Canton, were opened to European trade and the modern commercialization of China really began.

After a period of slight contact with the West, in mediæval times, Japan was for long a closed land. Its opening to modern trade and commerce dates from the day in 1863 when Commodore Perry of the American Navy sailed into the Bay of Yedo with a squadron of four ships. The closed door was practically forced open, and in the course of the next few years commercial treaties were made with the various European countries.

While, as mentioned, India had a limited trade with the West for centuries, world commerce in India, China, and Japan alike, is quite a recent development. The swift growth of these new commercial contacts is almost dramatic. Already the merchandise of the

[1] The Company's warehouses were called "factories."

Orient is carried over the Seven Seas by a great fleet of richly laden ocean-going steamers. In 1922, the tonnage of ships engaged in foreign trade entering and leaving the ports of India, China, and Japan was approximately equal to the tonnage engaged in foreign trade entering and leaving the ports of the United States.

It will hardly be surprising that with such an enormous shipping trade the East has taken to shipbuilding, in which Japan has already made big strides. Her output is exceeded only by Great Britain and the United States. Though she is but a recent entrant into shipbuilding competition, she is already producing one fifteenth of the whole world's output. India's production is negligible, but China has now begun shipbuilding, for which she has unequalled facilities. Within the lifetime of the present generation the Clyde, the Tyne, and Belfast may find deadly rivals in the Yangtse valley, Hong-Kong, and Kobe.

The long coast lines of India, China, and Japan, and their numerous excellent ports, have made easy the rapid development of sea traffic. But the increase in internal communication has been equally notable. The first railway was built in India seventy years ago; now there are as many miles of track lines operating as in Great Britain. China's first railway was laid down only as late as 1876, but there were at the end of 1921 about nine thousand miles open in China and Manchuria, and a much larger mileage projected. The railways in China are few compared with the huge country to be served, and the recent disturbed conditions of the land have made railway development dif-

ficult, but with settled conditions railway construction is sure to proceed rapidly. The growth of railways in Japan reads like a fairy tale. Forty-five years ago there were little more than as many miles of railway. In 1922 the mileage was equal to more than one third of the railways in Great Britain.

II

The rapid commercial development of China and Japan has been accelerated by the great natural resources of these countries. Japan is especially rich in coal, iron, silver, copper, and petroleum, while raw silk is produced in abundance. China is essentially an agricultural country; in addition to the huge crops of grain required to feed her own millions, large quantities of silk, cotton, and tea are produced for export. But for China many women could not walk in silk attire; she furnishes over one fourth of the world's supply of raw silk. China is also rich in minerals. Coal is abundant, and some of the iron and copper fields are among the richest in the world. The country claims to have known long before the rest of mankind the art of smelting iron. With a very extensive coast line, an abundance of excellent deepwater ports, and two great river systems stretching into the heart of the country and navigable for hundreds of miles, China is well equipped for development of her great resources. It should always be borne in mind, however, that China is still an agricultural country, and that in Japan there are nearly four times as many people engaged in farming as in other industries. India, like China, depends

for her life on agriculture, more than two thirds of her people being supported by tilling the soil, rearing stock, and forestry. One tenth of all the land tilled is under cotton; large crops of jute are raised; and of course India and Ceylon supply most of our breakfast and afternoon tea. But there is also substantial mineral wealth in India, especially coal, gold, mica, lead, copper, and manganese, as well as petroleum.

The industrial development of the Orient has been influenced in two directions by these natural resources. The growth of cotton, jute, and silk has led to textile industries, while mineral resources have led to coal mining, the smelting of iron and other ore, and the development of iron and steel and allied industries. For those who revel in statistics some figures may be given.

India grows cotton and jute in enormous quantities and the country is suitable for textile development. In Calcutta and district there are seventy-six jute mills, employing over 276,000 workers, while nearly three hundred cotton mills employing over 300,000 workers are found in Bombay, Madras, and other towns. China likewise grows cotton and also silk, and there too great mills have been erected. At the beginning of the present century there were two modern cotton mills in China; in 1922 [1] there were over seventy with more than 2,500,000 spindles, one hundred hosiery, underwear, and towel mills, one hundred and twenty modern corn mills, and various other factories employing together over half a million men, women, and children. These form the nucleus of a great army of Chinese

[1] *Statesman's Year Book.*

workers who some day are going to meet all the needs of the four hundred million potential customers within their own frontiers. Cotton is imported into Japan from India and China, spun into yarn on over 4,000,000 spindles, and woven into cotton cloth on 45,000 looms. The Japanese also spin a large part of the silk they produce.

All this India, China, and Japan do not only for themselves but in an increasing degree for the great markets of the world. In addition to exporting raw jute, India sells to England and other countries nearly $135,000,000 worth of jute products each year. China cannot be said to have entered on world industrial competition. She does not as yet manufacture all the cotton goods she needs for her own people, and she has to buy from Japan and England, but every year sees an increasing Chinese output and a narrower margin of requirement from the outside world. Soon China will not only clothe her own people but she will sell cotton to other countries. Japan's population is small compared with India's and China's teeming millions, and already her great markets are overseas. Japan exports annually to China (including Hong-Kong), Straits Settlements, and India, goods to the value of over $250,000,000, so that her trade is already a factor in setting a standard of competition throughout the Far East.

This huge textile development is effecting a subtle social change. India and China, like other Eastern lands, still use the hand loom, but in the modern world the god of cheapness must eventually consign the hand loom to the scrap-heap—it has no chance in com-

petition with the most up-to-date textile machinery, and the social structure it represents will perish with it. A large part of the cotton thread produced in the big factories on the Yangtse is still sent to the interior, where it is woven into cloth on hand looms. But modern machinery is unfortunately a remorseless aggressor, before which arts and crafts have to bow everywhere. In attempting to win back India to homespun, Gandhi was surely emulating the monarch who ordered back the tides of the sea.

If great textile industries have invaded the East, of as great importance has been the development of its mineral wealth. Coal and iron are the twin pillars of modern industry, and so long as coal is the main source of power, so long will factories group themselves near the coal supplies. Accordingly, the big industrial regions of the world are found near the coal and iron fields in Great Britain, Belgium, the Ruhr, and Pennsylvania. India, China, and Japan have abundant supplies of coal, and extensive iron ore is found in all three countries. The furnaces of Tatanagar, Hankow, and Osaka are names as familiar in the iron and steel world as Pittsburg, Middlesborough, and the Ruhr. The output of pig iron in China in 1922 was equal to one fifth of the output in Great Britain for the same year. Similarly, silver, copper, tin, lead, wolfram, and antimony are all found in large quantities in one or other of the countries of the Orient, and are being mined and manufactured in increasing quantities.

Many large Eastern banking businesses have grown up even in disordered China, where modern banking is

only an institution of the present century, and foreign banks are strong and numerous. There are regular ocean steamer services from the great ports of the Orient to all parts of the world. The telegraph and the telephone link up their cities, and they are in constant cable and wireless communication with lands overseas.

The rapidity of all these developments can hardly be overstated. The growth is, to a certain extent, reflected in the figures of traffic passing through the Suez Canal, that great arterial road between West and East. The Suez Canal Company [1] had successive record years in 1922, 1923, and 1924. In the latter year over 25,000,000 tons of shipping passed through the canal as against the best pre-war year (1912), the figure for which was about 20,000,000 tons. India has in half a century increased her trade tenfold. The important consideration is not so much the present extent of industrialism in India as its rapid growth in recent years.[2] Between 1902 and 1920 the number of factory workers increased fourfold, of miners above ground threefold, while workers in mines below ground increased by more than one half. In Japan 14,000 new factories were built during the World War; these have come to stay. In 1911 China imported 3,000,000 barrels of flour, but ten years later she exported the same quantity and imported none. Japan fifty years ago was a peaceful agricultural country and as late as 1883 there were only 125 modern factories. In 1921

[1] *British Chamber of Commerce Journal,* Shanghai, March, 1925.
[2] See articles on "Industrialism in India," in the *National Christian Council Review,* June-September, 1925.

there were 71,000, employing over 1,750,000 men, women, and children.[1]

III

All this development has meant the growth of a large mining, industrial, and transport population in the new industrial centers and at the ports, with consequent overcrowding and bad conditions judged even by eastern standards. At the same time its influence permeates to the agricultural community and to the old trading guilds which go back for at least ten centuries. The old and the new life go on side by side, but business, formerly a family affair, is more and more becoming a matter of individual units, and old customs and equities are displaced. Competition and the law of supply and demand are now in the saddle, and age-long guild customs are no longer adequate to regulate trading and stabilize business.

There are various factors in this rapid industrial development of the Orient which must be considered. Primarily there is the introduction of western capital and the tendency of human nature to exploit natural wealth everywhere. Then unlimited cheap labor and cheap fuel coupled with western efficiency of plant and organization, give a great advantage to Oriental industries in competition with the West. Further, the East has an immense home market with potential customers numbering about half of the human race, among whom there is a steadily growing demand for modern goods stimulated by the new and rapid means of transport

[1] *Résumé Statistique de L'Empire du Japon*, 1924.

and communication, multiplied points of contact, the spread of modern education, and the growth of the newspaper press.

In all this industrial development the worst features of the growth of the factory system in the West are being reproduced. The old "cry of the children" goes up day by day, and in lands where human life is cheap, men and women are the easy and helpless victims of industrial injustice. In some of the Shanghai cotton mills children of from seven to twelve years of age work twelve hours a day on a night and day shift. Babies are brought to the mills with their mothers, and live in the dust and heat; tiny children do odd jobs at the age of six and regular work at eight for long shifts of twelve hours, one procession coming out of the mill half asleep as the other goes in. In a review of 880 cases dealt with in the Industrial Hospital at Shanghai it is stated that "the youngest child injured was five years old." [1] One employer has declared that "if we stop employing children in mills we would have to close down . . . children's hands are peculiarly fitted for the work." [2] A half-holiday on Saturday and one rest day a week are almost unknown to the industrial mites of the Orient and their heritage of joy and play is denied to them. They lead an almost prison-like life. The conditions under which their mothers work ensure that many more "sleep the sleep that knows no waking" long before they are old enough to toddle to the mill.

The exploitation of child labor in the cotton mills

[1] Paper by H. W. Decker, in *China Medical Journal*, March, 1924.
[2] Sherwood Eddy, *The New World of Labor*, p. 26.

of Shanghai has acquired considerable notoriety. It has been the subject of severe criticism for some years, and in June, 1923, mainly under the pressure of Chinese Christians, missionaries, and others specially interested in religious and social questions, the Municipal Council appointed a Commission to inquire into the matter. That Commission made its report about a year later. In view of the interest created in the matter a summary of its recommendations is printed as an Appendix.[1]

In 1921 [2] there were about fifty cotton mills in or on the borders of the Shanghai Foreign Settlement—now there are several more—employing not hundreds but thousands of children down, it would seem, to the age of about eight or nine years. "Many of the foreign-owned mills of Shanghai, which have produced substantial dividends for their shareholders during the past ten years, are still employing child labor for long hours per day or night, and the very mild measures of reform which have been recommended by the special Industrial Commission after two years' negotiations have so far failed to secure ratification by the rate-payers of the International Shanghai Settlement. Such facts as these afford ready ammunition for the communistic propagandist or anti-foreign agitator, as he inveighs against the exploitation of human life by so-called 'callous capitalists.' The foreign-owned mills form but a small percentage of the total, and conditions within them, as competent observers have pointed out, are far superior to those to be found in most Chi-

[1] Page 183.
[2] *North China Daily News*, 5th November, 1921.

nese industrial enterprises; but it is impossible to gloss over the fact that they are employing labor under conditions that would not be tolerated for a moment in this country." [1]

The factory system in India affects child life in another way. Bombay, the Manchester of India, has about 150 cotton mills with some 200,000 operatives; the city is in fact a "cottonopolis." Two out of every three babies born there die within one year, as against one out of fourteen in England, but the figures of the mill population are even worse. Three fourths of all the babies born in Bombay are born in a one-roomed house, and of these more than eight in every ten die within a year of their birth. The other side of the picture is that the cotton mills of Bombay, largely owned by wealthy Parsees, make notoriously large profits on the capital invested in the mills.

In 1923 there were over 2,000,000 factory workers in Japan.[2] Of that number more than half were women. A reliable writer on Japan states that the factories have now to recruit 300,000 new girls from the country districts every year, of whom over one third return home *within the year,* one sixth because of serious illness, tuberculosis heading the list.

Mr. Suzuki, the labor leader of Japan, stated ten years ago that over one hundred and thirty thousand women were employed in the mines of that country. "Most of them are between sixteen and twenty years of age, and they work in the pits along with the men. Twenty per cent of all the laborers in the coal mines

[1] Harold Balme, *What is Happening in China* (1925), pp. 17-18.
[2] *Résumé Statistique de L'Empire du Japon,* 1924.

today are women. They are usually employed to carry baskets filled in the pits. They work in the bowels of the earth, naked like the men, wearing only a little breech clout."[1] Another great Japanese leader, T. Kagawa, has stated to the writer that while there has been some improvement in the last ten years, the conditions are not materially changed, and that accidents are very numerous.

The industrial condition of the women workers of the Orient denies life to their children, forms a degradation of womanhood, and is a sinister element in the body social; tomorrow it will mark the beginning of a struggle in the East for sex economic independence. Following the example of Japan, educated young Chinese women are now beginning to take posts as clerks in banks, assistants in business houses, and operators in telephone offices. All this is leading to the breakdown of the restrictions which in former days hemmed in the life of the women of China, and it is not without significance that in Korea today a newspaper is published under the title *The New Woman.*

Labor and life are both cheap in the Far East. Of one Chinese cotton spinning company it has been written:[2]

> The profits of the factory again surpassed $500,000. . . . For the past two years it has been running day and night with scarcely any intermission. The number of hands employed is 2,500. . . . [The statement

[1] Quoted in *Creative Forces in Japan,* Galen M. Fisher, p. 69.

[2] Quoted from the Maritime Customs Trade Report for 1920 by Sherwood Eddy in his *New World of Labor.*

then gives a wages table.] It will be seen that the Company is in an exceptionally favorable position. With the raw material at their doors, an abundant and absurdly cheap labor supply to draw on, and no vexatious factory laws to observe, it is not surprising that their annual profits should have exceeded their total capital on at least three occasions.

This unashamed statement may be allowed to speak for itself. It needs no comment or elaboration. Cheap labor is a nightmare to civilization. *No man is good enough* to have an abundance of "absurdly cheap labor" at his disposal and "no vexatious factory laws to observe." It invariably ends in abuse.

Figures and vivid pictures are dangerous, but when China enters on world-wide competition, industry in the West will have to face some grave and perplexing questions. A consideration of China's labor supply, her raw material, and her potential home market may well give the West pause. Competition between white and colored labor, on a different economic level, is inevitable. So surely as metal is attracted by a magnet will capital follow the cheapest material and the least costly labor and freedom from restriction. The increase of an efficient community of workers in the Orient will far outrun any improvement in social conditions. Hours, wages, and conditions, but not efficiency, will for long lag behind the standards aimed at in the West. The first impulse is to repress the industrial status and opportunity of the native worker, but that impulse is impotent in the self-governing states of the Orient. So far as can be seen this is a

problem labor has hardly awakened to. In the present economic distress it is clear that the working classes in one European country are seriously affected by worse working conditions in another. But such consequences are trifling to those which will be felt when the full strain of Oriental competition for world markets sets in. Difficult and delicate problems of mutual relations and interest will have to be settled before the workers of the world can unite.

The far-reaching reactions of industry ought to be much better understood by Christian folk. A lady [1] speaking to a huge missionary convention in America began her address thus:

> Several of us in this room are wearing hair nets. . . . Comparatively few of the women who still use these realize that the great center of the hair-net industry is in the city of Chefoo, China. And probably even a smaller number of those who have discarded nets for bobbed locks are aware that they have thereby contributed to the unemployment of hundreds of women in that far-away city of north China. Yet, only a short time ago a letter from a friend in Chefoo contained this sentence: "I don't know what will happen to us if you women in America don't stop cutting your hair. We are all losing our jobs. There were 18,000 women and girls in the hair-net factories here two years and a half ago, and now there are only a few over 2000."

The converse picture followed:

> It is a far cry from Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, to Tokyo, Japan. But when a few months ago the girls

[1] Miss Margaret Burton at Washington, January, 1925.

in a silk mill there petitioned for higher wages, their employer said that to grant their request would mean the failure of his business. When pressed for an explanation he gave competition with the silk mills of Tokyo as the reason for his answer.

The close association between industry and armaments has had its reaction in the East, where the gift of modern armaments cannot be reckoned as a gain to the welfare of the people. Japan's field army of twenty-one divisions and her $200,000,000-a-year navy, make a heavy toll on industry, while no one would contend that the Indian army budget of $400,000,000 can be anything but an intolerable burden on her resources. Modern industry and social custom and political action in West and East are interdependent and react one on the other, and anything we can do to help to bring a Christian way of life into industry in this country will help to make things better in the East, while any betterment in the East will react here.

IV

An attempt was made in the Treaty of Versailles to lay down a minimum labor charter for all the world. Part XIII of the Treaty deals with labor. It lays down the principle that universal peace can only be established if it is based on social justice. It states that conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled and an improvement of

these conditions is urgently required. The Treaty created a permanent international labor organization for the promotion of better labor conditions throughout the world. It lays down certain methods and principles which seemed to the signatories to be of special and urgent importance, and already the organization has done much useful work. But these methods and principles have hardly as yet touched the industrial systems of the Far East.

In India the workers' modest charter is contained in the Factory Act of 1921, which fixes a maximum eleven-hour day or sixty-hour week and disallows employment of children between the ages of twelve and fifteen for more than six hours a day. In India, however, western standards are lamentably few, and inquiry and statement of facts are not welcomed. It is the same in Japan. When the Rev. T. Kagawa investigated the coal mines of Kyusiu in 1918 his discoveries were so damaging both to the mine owners and to the government inspectors that he was forbidden to publish part of his report.[1]

Some factories in Japan, but only a fraction of the total, have excellent provision for workers, comparatively good wages, an eight-hour day, insurance against unemployment and a pension fund, but in Tokyo, for instance, only three hundred factories out of five thousand are said to have anything like welfare work. A Japanese National Factory Law was passed in 1911 and came into force in 1916. It provided *inter alia* that:

[1] *Creative Forces in Japan,* Galen M. Fisher, p. 68.

(1) Children under twelve years of age cannot be employed except that, with the permission of the administrative authorities, children as young as ten may be employed on light work.

(2) The employment of children under fifteen and women for more than twelve hours a day is prohibited.

(3) The employment of children under fourteen and women between the hours of 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. is prohibited.

But the first and third provisions were not to be put into operation for fifteen years in order to allow the factories time to adjust themselves![1]

China has so far only paper labor legislation and it is difficult to see how in the midst of the prevailing disorder any protection of the worker can be enforced.

Article 427 of the Peace Treaty secures to employees the right of association for all lawful purposes. India, China, and Japan are all signatories, and although the International Labor Conference has given much attention to the Orient, especially to China, the workers of the Far East have not yet been able to make good this right to combine. Industrial unrest seems to be the only possible road to betterment. In Japan the labor movement took rise within the last thirty years, in the midst of the boom following the victory of Japan over China. It was subject to constant police restriction, but several strikes occurred with varying success till in 1918, arising out of the war-time anti-profiteering rice riots in Kobe, the labor movement took on a new lease

[1] *Creative Forces in Japan,* Galen M. Fisher, pp. 83 and 84.

of life. In that year there were over eight hundred strikes, involving one hundred and twenty-five thousand workers.

Two events in the Far East greatly strengthened the position of the young Trade Unions. The strike of 1921 at the great Kobe shipyards in Japan showed that the spirit of the old feudal régime was gone; the worker had discovered his unsuspected powers, and meant to put up a fight for social justice. The great leader of the movement was the well-known Kagawa who, while he fights for the workers, remains pastor of a little church in a slum. The Kobe strike failed, the workers made no terms, their leader was sent to prison, but the sympathies of Japan were with the strikers who had measured swords with their employers and had created an organization which stood the test of defeat. In 1922 the Chinese seamen took a stand (in the words of the President of their Union) against "deprivation of their rights, rough treatment, fourteen-hours work a day, and an existence bordering on semi-starvation." It looked a forlorn hope by a group of "silly sailor folk" unaccustomed to organization. Within a fortnight the number on strike reached thirty thousand, and the intervention of the British in Hong-Kong in proclaiming the Seamen's Union to be an unlawful society only resulted in sympathetic strikes of twenty thousand coolies and others. In a month one hundred and sixty-six steamers had been held up, and at the end of three months the industrial life of Hong-Kong was completely paralyzed. Then shipowners and Government capitulated. The Seamen's Union was declared lawful, the strikers obtained their demands, and

an immediate impetus was given to labor organizations among Chinese workers.

Trade Unionism in India is as yet in its infancy and is being organized under many difficulties. India is perhaps the poorest country on earth. The average income of the Indian worker is about seventy shillings a year; thousands live in perpetual debt and are glad to get one meal a day. The industrial community is small—one in forty. The Indian is a village dweller. Only crushing poverty drives him to the jute factory or the cotton mill, and as soon as he can, he returns to his village. The industrial countries in the West have developed permanent industrial populations; but in India the village is still the home, and there is a constant ebb and flow between the industrial towns and the rural areas. With brilliant exceptions labor in India is not throwing up a strong leadership from its own ranks, and is therefore subject to exploitation at the hands of self-appointed leaders. If industrial unrest, of which there is much in India, is not to end in mere sporadic anarchy, it is surely better that there should be adequate organization to guide the ignorant helpless mass of Indian workers and to formulate their demands and press for social justice.

Just as industrialism created in the West the conditions set forth in Chapter I, so in the East the old sordid story is being reenacted and the old bitter struggle staged again, but with this difference—that while in the West the best Christian consciousness of the community sympathizes with the demand for adequate factory legislation and better conditions for working people, there is no similar public opinion or similar

standard of the value of personality to which appeal can be made in the East, and as yet, except in Japan, there is hardly any active industrial machinery through which betterment can be enforced.

Human greed and callousness are at the root of much of the evil. The world has not yet witnessed rapid economic development without exploitation. Unfortunately the case of the Chinese cotton company [1] is not an isolated one. The same sordid story is true of the jute mills of Calcutta. Dividends exceeding the total amount of capital of a company are by no means unknown. Some of the firms concerned have good English and Scottish names, and unfortunately the consumer, in whatever land he lives, is the unconscious employer of sweated labor. In such a situation industrial strife when it breaks out becomes acute and often takes the form of fierce rioting and race conflict. Think of the openings for Bolshevik agents ever ready to exploit discontent, wherever found! A sense of injustice is soon turned into bitter enmity, generally against the West, and the only hope of the worker in such a situation is wise leadership basing demands on justice, opposed to violence, and with a right view of the sacredness of personality and of the value of service and sacrifice. Where are these ideals to be found outside Christianity?

V

Opinions may differ as to the relation of the Christian Church to economic development, but no mission-

[1] See p. 76.

ary doubts that a right understanding of the facts will help him in his missionary task or that a better impact from the West would lighten his task. He works in lands where the old social order is crumbling away—sometimes imperceptibly but always steadily. The age-long sanctions of family and communal life are beginning to break down, there is social strain from new quarters, the old ethics get damaged and destroyed, new evils grow. He sees only too acutely that mere material development—buying, selling, and manufacturing—will not create a better social order or lead men to God. Much less will such conditions as we have surveyed bring this to pass. He is painfully aware that the non-Christian religions are not adequate to the new social needs and have nothing to say to them. He does not wait to ask whether Christ can meet them, whether he should leave social conditions alone, or whether Christian leaders should be trained up to deal with them. In the everyday work of every mission these questions are answered. The missionary does not stop at social amelioration, famine and earthquake relief, and medical help. He cannot arrest his teaching or his preaching of Christ the moment it faces human greed and heartlessness, or indifference in dealing with evil. He does not only attack slavery, opium, drink, and other evils, where he is sure of acting up to the home community consciousness. His standards are those of Jesus.

That view of life is costly. It calls us to bear the world's pain. The forces that maim life and crush the spirit of man should shock like bloodshed and violent death. Conscience has to be aroused, example

set, pioneer efforts encouraged, facts made known, and Japanese, Chinese, and Indian Christians alike helped to understand, and to meet, and to solve in the spirit of Jesus, the big problems facing them.

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CHAPTER IV

THE OPENING OF AFRICA

I

WITHIN a year of the impetus given to maritime adventure by the discovery of America, the Pope divided between Spain and Portugal all the unknown shores on either side of the Atlantic. The uncharted seas and the unexplored coast of Africa were the prize of the Portuguese, and the gift carried the obligation to plant the Cross on the newly-won soil. The ships of Portugal carried a mixed group of friars, traders, and soldiers with equally mixed results, and such domination as was acquired was exercised with scant regard for the African. But the days of Portugal's glory were numbered. Other nations were destined to secure mastery of the seas and the Portuguese soon dropped out of the race for supremacy.

These new conquerors, the English, Dutch, and French, brought as few good gifts to the African as did the Portuguese. The continent was regarded only as a clumsy barrier to be circumnavigated in order to reach the riches of India, and occupation was limited to the few ports necessary for the convenience of the trading fleets to the East. For long, there had been commercial intercourse between India and East Africa where trading stations had been planted by the Arabs; but the west and south coasts were, and remained for centuries, an almost unknown region to the outside world.

To these early venturers the great riches of Africa were not unknown, but the richer lure of the East

could not be dispelled by any stories of African gold and ivory, and the few who attempted to penetrate the secrets of the continent, though easily overcoming the feeble opposition of the African, were baffled and overcome by the deadly malaria of the low coastal plains.

Invasion from without has been the pathway of civilization in all times, but the burning sands of the great Sahara on the north and the fever-swept coastal plains of the tropics made Africa immune from invading armies; while its mighty rivers which should have been the highways of exploration and civilization discharged into the seas through malaria-infested sudd and swamps and mud shoals which formed almost impassable barriers to any who would enter. Thus Africa was the last great continent to yield up its secrets.

II

Europe first took note of the resources of tropical Africa when the demand for slave labor in the new lands across the Atlantic opened up a profitable traffic in human flesh and blood. England was the chief of sinners in promoting the African slave-trade to America. Her colonies there were partly carried on at the expense of the poor African, and in the hundred years preceding 1786 the number of slaves imported into British colonies exceeded two million. British interests in Africa were mainly centered in the slave-trade. Indeed the African slave-trade, as has been mentioned, was a coveted prize secured to Great Britain by international treaty.[1]

[1] *Treaty of Utrecht*, 1713, see p. 22.

The wretched trade needs no fresh description. The bloodshed in Africa and death through the horrors of the "middle passage" accounted for a far larger number of Africans than ever reached the slave fields of the new world. In two and a half centuries eight million negroes were, "at the lowest computation,"[1] carried across the seas, and it is estimated that about forty million more perished through the bloody traffic. Bristol, Liverpool, and other British towns laid the foundation of their greatness largely on the slave-trade with America. There were African slaves in domestic service in England as late as 1772—little more than one hundred and fifty years ago—when Lord Chief Justice Mansfield's famous judgment declared that "as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free." Britain abolished the slave-trade in 1806 and in 1833 slavery itself was declared illegal throughout the British dominions. It was not until 1885, however, that the European powers, by the Treaty of Berlin, united in declaring that the slave-trade was illegal.

The slave-trade was by no means confined to West Africa. Extensive slave raiding had for centuries been carried on in East Africa by the Arabs, but by the end of the nineteenth century, following on the heroic efforts of Livingstone, the Arab trade was finally extinguished. Two of Livingstone's countrymen, Frederick and John Moir, who fought the Arabs and successfully threw trade routes across the tracks of the slaver, had no small share in dealing the death-blow to the traffic.

[1] Norman Leys, *Kenya*, p. 25.

African memory may not vividly recall the slave-trade and it is looked on by Europeans as a hideous dream of the far past having little relation to the problems of Africa today; but two and a half centuries of inter-tribal slave raiding, with its terror, savagery, arson, and murder, carried on to meet the demands of the European trader have left permanent marks on Africa. Ruthless war became the business of life; rum, gin, and firearms the prizes; tribal tradition and customs were destroyed; society, even so far into the interior as the great lakes, took on a ruthless, warlike character, and a century and a quarter has not effaced the effect of these things on African life. The slave raiders contributed largely to the tribal disintegration which white men found going on in the Africa of fifty years ago. Problems of an urgent character have been created by the white man for himself and now poetic justice demands his help in their solution.

It is easy to blame slave traders and to pass judgment on slave owners, but the lessons of the terrible traffic are entirely lost unless an effort is made to get behind the brutal facts and understand the mentality to which such a traffic was possible and defensible. The real evils of any policy lie in the principles on which it is based, and the reasons which impelled men to carry on the slave-trade should, rightly understood, be compass and chart in many difficult issues of our time concerning primitive peoples.

The traffic was shared by English, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes. Slave labor was in request for sugar, rice, cotton, and tobacco plantations in North

America, the West Indies, and Brazil, and the cotton-gin which gave an immense impetus to the American cotton trade created a corresponding new demand for slaves. "A business destined in the course of time to be prohibited by law seemed in the eighteenth century to be so important for the development of our manufactures, shipping, and plantations as to receive not only national regulation and protection but also a national subsidy." [1]

Much of the opposition to the abolition of slavery was due to those sordid and selfish motives which are opposed to every step in human freedom—even the "happiness of the slaves" was urged against abolition. But there were in men's minds very real fears of grave consequences. It does not lessen the reality of such fears that they are common to all ages and all times of change. Fear, which is the want of faith, has to be reckoned with in every generation; it is really the enemy of all progress. The prosperity of the industries of many territories in the new world was bound up with a plentiful supply of slave labor, and at the whisper of abolition the cry was raised, "the country's colonial trade is in danger." Rivalry of other nations was feared, and the question was asked, "How can we hold our own with the French and Dutch?" Ruin was feared at home, and the assertion was made, "Liverpool will become a vast Poor Law Union." These were all very real fears and were so strong that the primary interest of the poor African could for long get no hearing. The African, conscious of suffering a great wrong, had not yet any

[1] E. A. Benians, *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, p. 187.

conception of either political or economic freedom. His was a dumb appeal for relief from his sufferings. The wrong could only be righted by the wrongdoer.

The motives governing the exploitation of the slave days throw light on the problems of today, for all questions concerning Africa touch very closely this matter of motive, and these slave days are recalled only for the sake of the lessons they teach. In the last resort, human relationships resolve themselves into an attitude of mind.

III

The opening up of the vast heart of Africa belongs to comparatively recent years. What the methods and motives of commerce could not effect in the sixteenth century, the spirit of exploration, scientific research, and humanitarianism accomplished in the nineteenth. Mungo Park, Livingstone, Stanley, Thomson, Speke, Grant, and others opened up the great interior of the continent and revealed it as a land of broad fertile uplands, huge lakes, and great rivers. Its potential wealth captured the imagination of Europe, the race for possession began, and "before the meeting of the Conference at Berlin [December, 1884 to February, 1885] the foundations of the German Empire in Africa were already laid; the outlines of the vast French empire in the north had begun to appear; and the curious domination of Leopold of Belgium in the Congo Valley had begun to take shape." [1] Great Britain was, of course, well in the race, and occupation proceeded

[1] Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, p. 170.

so vigorously that at the beginning of the twentieth century the flag of one or other of the European countries flew from Cape Town to Cairo, and from Senegal to Zanzibar. The sole exceptions of Abyssinia and Liberia only accentuated the completeness of the European partition of Africa.

The partition and subsequent opening-up of the continent were closely linked with the rapid industrial development of Europe. That development demanded new sources of supply of those raw materials which are produced in tropical countries—cotton, oil, rubber. River, road, and railway transport made the inner tableland accessible to all the contacts of the modern world, and the swift transition has almost no parallel in history. The African has in half a lifetime taken a flying leap from age-long primitive tribal life into a world in which he has to adjust himself to two thousand years of western progress. "The horn of the motor lorry, the whistle of the steam engine, the buzz of the steam saw, the rattle of the crushing mills sound where his fathers only heard the roar of the lion and the chatter of parrots and monkeys." [1]

The new life is directed by the white man. There are great crops on the white man's vast plantations—cotton, coffee, sisal, tobacco, rubber; strange new occupations—mining, planting, railroad building, construction of motor highways; irksome new impositions on the African that he does not understand—taxes, forced labor, limitation of movement, and relegation to reserves. His social system is undergoing a vast upheaval, and the African mind is bewildered.

[1] Basil Mathews, *The Clash of Color*, p. 65.

In all social life in Africa the village has been the normal unit; the villager had many common rights and lived a sort of communal life. The land belonged to the village or the tribe; private ownership was virtually unknown in primitive society and when chiefs parted with the land or expropriated it, the elementary rights of the peoples were really taken away. Authority in primitive Africa rested on tribal law, and the fountain of justice lay in the opinion of the tribe or the village. Men and women had well-defined duties and responsibilities. The fear of spirits has for ages dominated life; and the African mind is in perpetual servitude to unknown forces which pervade the whole material world. Natural phenomena and facts of science terrify him and the evil in life far outweighs the good. Two thousand years behind western civilization, Africans in tropical Africa are given ten years instead of ten centuries to adapt themselves to twentieth century conditions.

IV

The immense silent pressure of changing circumstances on the African can hardly be realized. The new contacts and the interdependence of higher and lower civilizations have raised far-reaching issues both for white and black. These issues lie in the conception of the future position of the African in his own land. For good or ill Africa has become an annex of Europe. The fortunes of its people are controlled by and depend on the policy of European governments—British, French, Portuguese, and Belgian. The future of

Africa depends on how that control will be exercised. Four big problems loom on the horizon—land, labor, taxation, and education. Each of these appears in varying forms in different parts of Africa. Their presentation would require more than one volume on each. They may, however, be summed up as the adjustment of life to new conditions, and opposing points of view may be conveniently and quite briefly illustrated from events in East Africa, which has recently engaged a large share of public attention and where all four problems are urgent.

The valuable and informative *Report of the East Africa Commission* presented to Parliament in April, 1925 [1] only emphasizes the extremely imperfect nature of our information regarding the problems of the African continent. With regard to land, labor, and education, we are still at the stage of groping inquiry. In the debate on the Report, in the House of Lords,[2] this was recognized by Lord Balfour who, on behalf of the Government, announced the appointment of a Committee of Civil Research for the careful and scientific study of such questions. Any discussion of the problems is liable to be misunderstood as an attack on the white man in Africa. Nothing is further from the writer's mind. The white man in Africa is just like the white man everywhere—no better and no worse—but it is his misfortune to be faced with problems of an extraordinarily difficult character; where there is fault, it lies in the system.

These social and industrial problems are more or less common to the whole of tropical Africa; they

[1] Cmd. 2387. [2] 30th June, 1925.

do not concern the African only; they affect the welfare of all the people of the continent, European, African, and Asiatic. Governments in Africa are responsible for the well-being of all the population of whatever race or color. Their task is to secure the cooperation of all concerned, but mutual understanding and confidence are beset with pitfalls, and Government administration is a task of infinite perplexity. Another real difficulty is the gap between average colonial opinion and opinion in the home country based on what is believed to be the native point of view. It requires unquenchable faith to keep men's faces Godward in such a situation. Africa demands supermen if there are to be no serious mistakes and no abuses.

V

Let us first look at the problem of land. Chartered companies, trading corporations, and individuals have from time to time acquired large areas of land in different parts of the continent and they all hold some kind of legal title. It is now too late to look closely into the adequacy of the consideration given to the native for his land. In the days of the early settler there was room for all, and the acquisition of land by the newcomers did not appreciably lessen the huge areas on which the natives roamed with their flocks, nor affect the plots on which they cultivated their maize and mealies, and for long the African had no sense of land hunger. But as more white settlers pressed up country from the south or entered the interior from the coast, it was necessary to define the areas available

for him, and Government took steps to protect the native rights in their own lands and to control alienation. By means of "protectorates" over new areas or the setting aside of "reserves" in existing colonies native rights were defined. But European encroachment is a persistent thing, and in Kenya Colony, for example, it has brought about a crisis.

The important part of Kenya is the high land of the southwestern section which has about the same area as England and Wales, with a population equal to about half that of Lancashire, of whom only nine thousand are Europeans. The plateaux of these Highlands, five thousand to six thousand feet above sea level, are arable in character, and the climate makes the territory suitable for white settlement. Great areas of this land not in actual native occupation have been rapidly alienated by the Government to white settlers. This policy began in 1900, and within twenty-five years 11,859 square miles [1] of the best cultivable land in the colony have passed to less than two thousand Europeans.[2] The natives, some two million in number, are squeezed out from admittedly the best lands on to reserves, the area of which, leaving out desert and inaccessible mountain, is estimated at from five thousand to six thousand square miles including good, bad, and indifferent land. Even at that, the Kenya Africans have no legal right in their own land. They have right of occupancy against other Africans but no rights of ownership or even of occupancy as against the Crown.

[1] *Report of East Africa Commission*, p. 148.

[2] The Census of 1921 gives the number of Europeans occupied in some form of agriculture as 1,893.

"The Government acquired the absolute ownership of the whole by merely behaving as its owner."

In Southern Nyasaland a curious situation exists. *The Report of the East Africa Commission* draws attention to the practise, on private estates there, of imposing rent on native residents, and mentions a decision of the High Court of British Central Africa in 1903 to the effect that the terms of the estate owners' Certificate of Claim preserved the customary freehold rights of resident natives. The Commission states:[1]

> We are bound to say that there seems to be grave doubt whether the demands for rent at present made by many of the estate owners on the resident natives are sound in law, and whether the Government is justified in enforcing them. . . . We cannot but regard it as anomalous that in Southern Nyasaland the machinery of Government is being used to impose on native residents claims by landowners to rights which are, *prima facie,* not included in their titles, while such claims are not enforced in Northern Nyasaland, and are excluded in Northern Rhodesia.

By the "Uganda Agreement" of 1900 made between Sir Harry Johnston and the King and people of Buganda, half of the country became Crown land and the other half was put at the disposal of the Lukiko (Native Council). From the first, native freehold title was recognized. "Today approximately one in every hundred of the population of the Kingdom of Buganda is a landlord possessing freehold title to his

[1] *Report of East Africa Commission,* p. 110.

land." [1] Freeholds vary from a few acres to fifty square miles, and the Lukiko has forbidden sales or bequests to non-natives. The staple crop of Uganda is cotton, and the crop for 1925 is estimated at over 175,000 bales valued at over $20,000,000. "The bulk of the cotton is produced by peasant cultivators on small patches through the use of the hoe," a system the extension of which is urged by the Manchester cotton trade.

The policy of encouragement of native cultivation is undoubtedly the best for all parts of Africa. Sir Frederick Lugard says that "as a cultivator of his own land, the African will work harder and produce more than he will as a hired laborer, and the progress made will be more rapid and permanent, and the output cheaper, while labor difficulties do not arise"; [2] while the Governor of Nyasaland has stated as "his considered opinion that the prosperity of the Protectorate depends on the development of its tropical agricultural resources . . . principally by the natives themselves with European instructors." [3]

In West Africa a far-seeing administration has pursued the policy of allowing the land to remain in the hands of the African, with the happiest results, and no white trader can dispossess the West African of his land. "The grant of large blocks of land to concessionaires, unless uninhabited, is altogether opposed to the principle of trusteeship." [4] In Nigeria and the Gold Coast great native industries in the cultivation

[1] *Report of East Africa Commission,* Cmd. 2387, p. 25.
[2] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate,* p. 507.
[3] *Report of East Africa Commission,* p. 109.
[4] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate,* p. 298.

of cocoa and palm-oil have been created. In 1891 the cocoa crop on the Gold Coast was three quarters of a hundredweight, in 1924 it amounted to 218,000 tons, worth on an average at least $175 a ton, while Nigeria exported in 1922 over $75,000,000 worth of kernels and oil. In these territories the African works and develops his own soil, but in Kenya the link is snapped between the African farmer and his land. His relation to the soil is reduced almost to that of a serf to the white settler. He can only supply his needs by work always controlled by and for the European. The question is what is to be the position of the African in Africa, and the problem shifts at once from the land to the man who lives upon it. The land policy in Uganda, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and other territories offers one answer: the policy in Kenya offers another.

VI

It is apparent that the problem of labor is bound up closely with that of land. The European population, outside the South African Union, is trivial compared with the number of Africans, but the native population even in areas of greatest density is comparatively small, and in many large territories very sparse. It is almost nowhere equal to the potential development of the country's resources. In Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia combined the population is only thirteen million, while in the whole of the South African Union the natives, at the Census of 1921, numbered less than five

and a half million. It is clear that the policy of encouraging native production must inevitably raise grave questions bearing on labor supply for both public and private employers. The problem is well illustrated by the labor troubles in Kenya Colony.

As already mentioned, a large part of Kenya consists of high plateaux suitable for white settlement, nearly twelve thousand square miles of which have been alienated by the Government to Europeans. This area requires black labor for its development. Shortage of labor, always a problem, was made more acute by the demands of the war, post-war settlement of ex-soldiers, and the breaking-up of the large estates by those who had acquired them. The Kenya Government came to the rescue and issued a circular [1] expressing the hope that "by an insistent advocacy of (its) wishes an increasing supply of labor will result." [2] District officers were told that the need could not be brought too frequently before native authorities, and native chiefs were informed that it was part of their duty to advise and encourage all unemployed young men to go out to work on the plantations. Further, district officers were to keep a record of chiefs who proved helpful and of those who did not, and were to report to the Government. The whole thing savored of compulsion and, as a consequence of urgent representation from various quarters, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Churchill) issued a despatch [3] laying down two important principles:

[1] October, 1919, Cmd. 873.

[2] An article in *The International Review of Missions,* October, 1921, gives fuller information.

[3] September, 1921, Cmd. 1509.

(1) Beyond taking steps to place at the disposal of natives any information which they may possess as to where labor is required, and at the disposal of employers information as to the sources of labor available for voluntary recruitment, the Government officials will in future take no part in recruiting labor for private employment.

(2) In regard to compulsory paid work for Government this is to be avoided except when absolutely necessary for essential services. . . .

This view is taken strongly in the *Report of the East Africa Commission*,[1] which lays down that "under no circumstances could the British Administration tolerate in any form the principle of compulsory native labor for private profit, be the employer native or non-native."

In South Africa a big problem concerning labor arises out of the industrial development of the native. There is in the South African Union a large white artisan class which is almost absent from other parts of Africa. In the Union one never sees a native engine-driver or skilled mechanic, rarely even a native chauffeur. The highest skilled work is reserved for the white, the natives being allowed to engage in certain less skilled operations only. But in various other parts of Africa natives are becoming the skilled craftsmen of the country, and work that is done in South Africa only by white men is done efficiently in other places by skilled Africans.

To preserve the monopoly of the white craftsmen in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, a policy of

[1] P. 37.

industrial segregation was adopted some years ago. Certain recent regulations for the limiting of Asiatic and native skilled labor were declared by the Courts to be *ultra vires,* whereupon the Union Government promoted a Color Bar Bill, tightening the restrictions in the three northern provinces, and foreshadowing their extension to the Cape Province. The avowed purpose is gradually to institute an industrial segregation policy throughout the Union. This would be contrary to the traditions of the Cape and to the pledges given at the time of the Union.

The Bill for the time being is dead. It passed the House of Assembly, where the Government commanded a majority, but in the Senate the South African party, led by General Smuts, defeated the measure (7th July, 1925) by seventeen to thirteen votes.[1] It can be reintroduced in a new Session, and if again rejected by the Senate, the Government can force the Bill through in a joint sitting of both Houses, and that is evidently their intention.

The question is not one of segregation of natives into reserves, but a limitation of the function of natives in areas where mixed populations live: it demands a lower type of labor from the African and denies to him the full exercise of any skill he may acquire. The result within our time will be that skilled labor in South Africa will be forcibly repressed while it will be highly developed and general in other parts of Africa. Here you have white workers deliberately aiming at keeping the African at a lower level of industrial and social development than elsewhere. That

[1] *The Times,* 1st August, 1925.

is flinging down a glove that will some day be picked up, for skilled colored labor in Africa will not appeal in vain to colored and skilled labor in the Orient, and we may one day witness a colossal industrial world-wide struggle on color grounds alone. That raises the question whether labor is going to have a truly international mind. This is one of the biggest questions of our time.

The mere mention of the South African Color Bar Bill conjures up a ghastly problem. The Minister of Mines stated in the debate on the Bill in the Cape Parliament that the terms of legislation " must be such as would prevent the possibility of the recurrence of regulations against the Asiatics and natives being declared *ultra vires* by the Courts." [1] This is self-interest and racialism run wild: for those, whether workers or capitalists, who seek material advantage over others, have failed to find for themselves that ethical standard which alone can guarantee progress. Such an attitude can ultimately only maintain itself by an act of war. Quite apart from the economic futility and stupidity of such a policy, we find in the example cited white workers failing to interpret truly the value of individual life. Christianity above all religions in the world has placed the greatest emphasis on human personality, but we are utterly failing to grasp that principle if there is to be differentiation against labor merely on the ground of color.

East and West Africa represent two land policies for Africa: the circular of the Kenya Government and

[1] Mr. Byers, Minister of Mines in Union Parliament, 6th May, 1925. *The Times* report.

the Despatch of the Colonial Office set forth two different attitudes towards labor. The Color Bar in South Africa represents a third view. These conflicting ideals are in grips today. The fundamental issue is the same. It is the old one of slavery days: what is to be the place and function of the African? Is the native to be subordinated to the interests of the white man, and is the white man to exploit the native labor? Or is the European to foster for the Africans "complete freedom in the disposal of their labor, the furtherance of their economic development, and a definite progressive policy of training them in responsible self-government?"

VII

A third great problem for Africa is taxation. Again the case of Kenya is taken for the purpose of illustration, although it should be repeated that it is not any worse than that of many other colonies. The revenue from taxation in Kenya is derived almost equally from (1) hut and poll tax, (2) customs duties, and (3) miscellaneous sources. While the native is taxed indirectly through customs duties, etc., he is mainly conscious of a direct heavy hut tax. "A popular theory is that the native taxation should be increased, the argument being that the more money the native is forced to earn for the State, the longer he will have to work."[1] The hut and poll tax which in 1913-14[2] yielded about $857,000 amounted in 1922 to over $1,250,000, equivalent to one third of the total revenue

[1] *The Times* correspondent, 9th March, 1925.

[2] Quoted from official returns by Norman Leys in *Kenya*, p. 336.

from taxation. What the native gets in return is hard to tell. The comparatively small amount of the proceeds of native taxation spent in the area in which the money is raised has a special bearing on education, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. For example, the estimated expenditure in Kenya for 1924 on the education of an African population of almost two and a half millions was only $185,000 [1] as against $120,000 on the education of a total European community of about ten thousand. In Nyanza Province only $250,000 of a hut and poll tax amounting in 1921-22 to about $1,450,000 (£294,000) was spent *for all purposes* within the province. Mr. F. C. Linfield, in a supplementary Memorandum to the *Report of the East Africa Commission*,[2] says: "The Chief Native Commission of Kenya, in a paper submitted to us, estimated that in 1923 the maximum amount that could be considered to have been spent on services provided exclusively for the benefit of the native population was slightly over one quarter of the taxes paid by them." Mr. Linfield adds:

As a concrete example we were informed that in the last ten years the Kitui Akamba have paid over a million dollars (£207,749) in direct taxes alone, and "that you may travel through the length and breadth of Kitui Reserve, and you will fail to find in it any enterprise, building, or structure of any sort which Government has provided at the cost of more than a few sovereigns for the direct benefit of the natives. The place was little better than a wilderness when I

[1] Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in East Africa*, p. 118.
[2] *Report of East Africa Commission*, p. 187.

first knew it twenty-five years ago, and it remains a wilderness today as far as our efforts are concerned. If we left that district tomorrow, the only permanent evidence of our occupation would be the buildings we have erected for the use of our tax-collecting staff."

It is therefore hardly surprising that the Commission "feel that both trade and non-native enterprise should in the future pay a larger direct contribution towards the revenue of the Colony." [1] It has to be borne in mind that in addition to the hut tax the natives make a substantial contribution to customs and excise, a contribution which in 1922 amounted to nearly $2,000,000 (£387,530) for the whole of the Colony.[2]

This practise of spending only a small part of the native revenue on native welfare is found all over Africa, and in country and municipal locations alike; e.g., "Out of 217 towns reporting to the Secretary for Native Affairs in South Africa, for the year 1916-17, no fewer than 191 derived more from the native revenue than they expended on native services. Sixty-four towns which received revenue from natives varying from $10 to $4,000 frankly returned 'nil' as the amount of their expenditure on native services." [3]

VIII

The duty of Government is so to govern as to secure the well-being and development of the people. Economic considerations cannot be the sole guide in

[1] *Report*, p. 175. [2] *Statesman's Year Book.*
[3] C. T. Loram in *The International Review of Missions*, October, 1921.

government. The human factor is the ultimate one, and there must be a feeling of disappointment that even in such a valuable document as the *Report of the East Africa Commission* the African throughout is dealt with almost entirely as a labor unit. Our responsibility in Africa is "a charge upon the conscience and the intelligence of the British people."[1] Great Britain is committed to the principle of trusteeship for the economic, moral, and social progress of the African. The principle was first laid down by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which stated with reference to what are now known as mandated territories:

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The British Government White Paper[2] says: "There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral, and economic level." The White Paper goes on to lay down that "in Kenya Colony the principle of trusteeship for the natives, no less than in the man-

[1] *The Times*, 22nd May, 1925.
[2] *Indians in Kenya*, 1923, Cmd. 1922.

dated territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable." This is the inevitable corollary of Article 22 of the Covenant, as such a principle cannot possibly be applied to mandated territory without a demand arising in course of time for its application to the case of other peoples not yet able to stand by themselves. The principle is being brought into effect in the case of mandated territories by the splendid work of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, but no similar body is charged with the duty of seeing that it is carried out in non-mandated areas. While the Treaty of Berlin delimited spheres of influence and "prescribed the rules of the game of Empire building," the principle of trusteeship had not then been born, and no provision was made then or at Versailles for working out in all colonies the principles upon which backward peoples should be governed. The protagonists of the old and the new ideals stand over against each other, and the victory for trusteeship is not yet.

The problems of Africa have been created by European penetration, coupled with the growing consciousness of common ideals and interest on the part of the African. These problems are the concern of both black and white, and on the cooperation of these two groups depends the ultimate solution; but the heaviest burden falls on the white man. His shortcomings can be read by him who runs, but the real complexity of his problem, and his real contribution to the advancement of the country, are not always so conspicuously in the public mind. The situation demands an unbiassed study of the facts: only thus can we truly understand the responsibility of empire.

All these problems have a special significance for the Church in its outreach to help Africa. "We are bound as a Christian nation to bring national policies to the test of conformity with Christian conceptions of life. Fundamental among these is the conception of the supreme value of human personality and the worth of each individual in the sight of God. We cannot without the surrender of our deepest convictions reconcile ourselves to any policy in regard to the natives of Africa which contravenes this truth." [1]

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[1] Memorandum to Secretary of State—*Labor in Africa and the Principle of Trusteeship*—approved by thirty-one Societies in the Conference of British Missionary Societies, December, 1920.

CHAPTER V

THE WORLD AT SCHOOL

All the world is learning to read and is taking a dizzy leap into the mystic world of letters. The babies of the Orient, of Africa, and of the isles of the sea are all alike crawling up the lower rungs of the educational ladder, while their older brothers and sisters with quickened desire are already clumsily stumbling on the threshold of the magic realm of books. The significance of the new movement lies in the sudden curve of increase after static centuries. When an Arabian Government gives a grant for education, men may cease to wonder at the swift spread of the educational fever.

Education is one of the biggest factors in human progress; the right kind of education always uplifts men and women. Types of education must vary with stages of civilization, and the question of what is the right type for different countries is far too wide for discussion here: indeed, the data is not available for its answer. But it may be asserted that the end of education is to make those who seek it useful members of the community. "We now see," says Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes,[1] "that education involves not only formal instruction but the development of all the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual powers of youth in the interest of service."

Man is a spiritual being and his education is a spiritual enterprise. His highest development is through

[1] *Education in East Africa*, p. xvi.

spiritual conceptions of human life. Such conceptions are lacking in many elements in Western society, and a pertinent question is whether the West has any real contribution to make to the education of non-Christian lands. The material facts of life have colored our own educational systems, and have often hindered true development, while much that the West has considered educational is inconsistent with moral and spiritual growth. A primary question, therefore, is—what is education? and it is a matter for satisfaction that so many able educators are seeking to find an adequate answer.

Education, whatever it may be, is not a matter of organization and system. These, as we shall see, are not what matter most in the education of a people, for education is the sum of all the forces and influences which play on life. But in any consideration of the expansion of Christianity one has to consider the effect of modern educational systems in non-Christian lands, and the complex social and political problems they create.

I

The introduction of a western system of education into the Orient tends to anti-foreign feeling as the consciousness grows that it is a powerful instrument of cultural penetration. This is illustrated by what is happening in China as these pages go to press.

China had a rich language and literature when the rude speech of the ancient Britons had not yet been reduced to writing. For thousands of years learning

has been revered, the scholar being at the apex of the social order; and yet in the modern world China as a whole is an illiterate land.

The result of the Chino-Japanese War in 1894-5 opened China's eyes to the futility of the old learning against modern scientific knowledge, and the lesson was driven home by the enforced acceptance of the terms imposed by the Western Powers after the Boxer Rising in 1900. Five years later the old system of education was abandoned by royal edict, and a ministry of education set up. Modern education in China received a further impetus from the Revolution of 1911. While in 1910 only one Chinese out of four hundred received any education, nine years later one in eighty was at school.

For long, Christian missions had carried on schools, and till the end of the nineteenth century they had a preponderating share of all modern education in China. Missionary education in China is marked by three stages. The first was the early years of mission schools, when China's ancient system of education still held full sway. Then, as the attitude of the Chinese to western knowledge changed, these schools began to be appreciated in a new way on account of the excellent modern education they gave. But a third stage came when alongside the mission a national system of modern education inevitably grew up. The national system dates from the Edict of 1905, and the number of scholars in national schools was soon many times the number in all Christian schools. While the total number of pupils in all grades receiving Christian education in 1922 was only three hundred and forty-three

thousand, the pupils in Government schools and colleges numbered over four and a quarter million.

The Chinese are by nature scholars, and the new educational trail they are blazing will soon reach the most remote corners of the land. The stolid Chinese youth is becoming a real boy under the influence of the modern school; the playground has come to stay; and, best of all, the doors of the schools are thrown wide open to girls. Many of the business and upper class families seek to provide education for their girls, and female education even among the poorer people is increasingly common. It is not unusual to find mill girls and factory hands who are able to read a letter. An educated Christian boy desiring to marry a literate Christian girl would have little difficulty in finding one. Female education is, however, a new thing and only touches the young. Very few women over thirty have had a modern education.

The vitality of the new educational movement is shown by the fact that amidst the chaos of recent years education continued to function. A miracle has been worked in the midst of disorder, in face of lack of funds and oppression of military autocrats.

Chinese educators were determined to build up a strong Chinese educational system suited to the country's needs. By and by they became conscious that there was growing up in their country a dual system of education, the one national and non-religious under the direction of their own Government, the other controlled by nationals of other lands, acknowledging no allegiance to China, and with clear religious propagandist objectives. The Chinese wanted a national sys-

tem that would develop national consciousness—not a mental hotch-potch partly British, partly American, and partly Japanese. Up till 1924 there were few signs of actual hostility towards the Christian schools. Then they met with sharp opposition as the main instrument of the cultural penetration of the West, which is regarded as having a political purpose as well as being hated for its own sake, and this opposition has rapidly grown into a violent anti-Christian sentiment.

This new development puts Christian schools in a very different position from that which they occupied a few years ago, and unfortunately the new atmosphere of distrust and suspicion has added to this delicate situation. China is seething with anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling, and in the matter of education she is especially suspicious of foreign aims. One of China's most brilliant young leaders, Mr. T. Z. Koo, says:

A tendency which has emerged very clearly during the last two or three years is to emphasize national and racial consciousness through education; the leaders want to create in our students interest and study of current political, economic, social and industrial plans alongside their education. They are, therefore, beginning to question and attack missionary education, which takes a young Chinese man at his most formative period and puts him through a system of education which they consider alien, and which, therefore, denationalizes him.[1]

This distrust found expression at the annual meeting in 1924 of the National Association for the Advance-

[1] *International Review of Missions*, April, 1925, p. 161.

ment of Education, at which most of the larger Chinese colleges and universities were represented, about one thousand educationists being present from all parts of the country. The meeting was by no means merely a demonstration against the West. Much constructive work was done, looking towards a compulsory system of national education affording facilities for all students up to the highest university standard. The outlook of those present was intensely national. While the excellent work of mission schools was fully recognized and the conviction was expressed that the Chinese could not yet dispense with their help, there was clearly a strong feeling that these schools should be brought under the control of a national board of education. Resolutions were passed urging action in the direction of restricting educational activities conducted in China by foreigners, prohibiting foreigners from establishing any more educational institutions, and providing that foreign schools should be turned over to the Chinese within a reasonable period. Whatever action the Government may take—and it is improbable that it will take any action for some time—the proposals are a clear hint to Christian missions to consider the situation and adjust their policy to it. If their schools continue to be regarded as instruments of a foreign culture, and not purely Chinese, their day is over.

It is becoming increasingly evident that if Christian schools and colleges are to find a permanent place in the educational system of China, it will only be because their educational contribution is so superlatively good that it cannot well be dispensed with, and because at the same time they are offering something which is

unique in nature, namely the building up of a strong moral and religious character, and the development of public-spirited citizenship. If this goal is to be reached by the Christian forces at present available, it will probably demand the closing down of a large number of relatively inefficient schools, and the concentration upon such as can be adequately manned and equipped.

However, it matters not so much whether there be few or many schools, or even how good they are, as how rapidly they divest themselves of their foreign character. They must become, in the words of the Report on Education in China,[1] "more efficient, more Christian, *and more Chinese.*" The Christian school "can furnish in the new life of China a force that can come from no other source. It can determine the character of the part China will play in the drama of international life" and the place it will take in the expansion of Christianity in the Orient.

II

In India we have an example of the bearing of education on national aspirations. That country has a national system of education which had its origin in the Dispatch issued by Lord Macaulay in 1854. While it was not Macaulay's design, the Minute marked the interpenetration of two great cultures. Alexander Duff had already founded a college for giving to Indians an English education steeped in the Christian religion. Duff's success "marked out educational missionary work as the most powerful method of approach

[1] *Christian Education in China,* 1922, p. 15.

to Hinduism in its higher places." [1] It was inevitable that by and by Indians so educated should turn again to the riches of their own heritage in Indian history, religion, and literature, and that later the two cultures should come into sharp collision.

It was perhaps still more inevitable that a study of western history, and an acquaintance with the writings of Burke, Mill, Carlyle, and Herbert Spencer should give rise to a growing desire for self-government.

India's national aspirations make the question of an adequate educational system of paramount importance. The country wants responsible self-government, and without widespread education of the right kind it cannot realize that aim.

Education in India is top-heavy in character and too limited in scope. Its outstanding feature is the comparatively large number receiving university education —sixty-six thousand students in fourteen universities (one quarter of the total being in Christian institutions), while about ninety-three per cent of the total population are unable to read or write. The doorway to university education is a knowledge of English, and as only one in every two hundred of the whole population knows English, it is from a very small section of the community that sixty thousand young men crowd into the universities. There are two special evils in India's university system. In the first place the system is foreign, based on western curricula. A distinguished Indian Christian [2] speaking out of his own

[1] C. F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, p. 35.

[2] Shoran Singha in *Christian Education in Africa and the East*, p. 69.

experience says: "We were out of touch with the master-minds of our own country . . . there was no room left to study and appreciate India's past literature and culture." Secondly, as one result of making English the medium of university education there is far too little higher education for women. There is only one English-speaking Indian woman to every fifteen men who have an English education, and only one thousand women are found in college out of all India's millions. But no country can be rightly equipped for self-government without adequately educated women leaders, and the intellectual gulf between the men and women in India is a peril in this time of social and political change. The facts make a strong appeal to British Christian women to increase the splendid help in the matter of higher education which they are now affording to their sisters in India. The demand for women's education has come, and western women leaders may direct into right channels the new intellectual forces of womanhood in that wonderful land.

The West hardly realizes that national consciousness is not a matter merely of politics; it runs through society, colors art and literature, and is as real in the Church as in the State. The Government education is secular, but the large majority of Christian mission schools are within the national system. Such an arrangement creates acute problems and much discussion has raged round the question of compulsory attendance at religious instruction in State-aided schools. With the growth of national consciousness among the student body the cry came for liberty of choice, and the discussion has resulted in two gains. It has emanci-

pated the missionary mind from false ideas of control in Christian education, while the Indian has discovered the real value of Christian teaching. The fears created by the conscience clause in operation in Ceylon and some parts of India which provided for exemption of the student, if desired, from religious instruction in State-aided schools, have been found groundless. The clause has created a subtle psychological change. From the student mind the red rag of compulsion has disappeared, and the missionary teacher has found that, given leave to choose, the pupil is easily attracted by the right teaching of Christianity.

An ignorant people can never be really free. While the middle and upper classes in India are educated in as great a proportion as those of western lands, the great masses of the people are still largely illiterate, only about seven per cent being able to read and write. Fewer scholars are enrolled in all India than in the little country of Japan. Even such primary education as is given is defective. Of the children at school no fewer than ninety per cent are in the lowest primary classes. Those who never reach a higher standard very soon lapse into illiteracy. The weakness of elementary education in India is a real peril to the social and political development of the country. It makes for social and intellectual feudalism to have in any land at one end of the educational scale a comparatively large number of university men and at the other the overwhelming masses of the people absolutely illiterate.

But mere literacy would not carry Indian aspirations very far. Education has got to be conceived afresh in order that it may fit India for freedom. The

difficulties are many—grinding poverty, constant toil, and social and religious differences. There is no such public opinion as prevails in China and Japan in favor of general education. The Provincial Governments find the task utterly unwieldy, and the danger is that "statesmanship and Christian love alike are to be declared bankrupt." In such a situation there is indeed a challenge to the missionary forces in India and to the forces behind them in the homeland, to give to India, through Christian education, that full free spirit of Truth on which alone freedom can be built.

III

The position of education in Japan raises the large issue of the relation of Christianity to a national secular system of education.

One of the most literate countries in the world today is the far eastern long-closed land of Japan where sixty years ago modern education was entirely unknown. In 1864 a young Japanese, Joseph Neesima, stole away from his country at the peril of his life, reached Boston, Mass., was befriended and given the best education New England could afford. He set aside tempting opportunities of political preferment and made a great resolve that he would found a Christian College in his own land. Within ten years he gave Japan her first college: the "Doshisha" (One Purpose). The rapid progress of the Sunrise Kingdom is due largely to that passion for education exemplified in Neesima. Education has been pursued with such energy that Japan has now a great national school system, educa-

tion being compulsory, and it has as large a proportion of children in the elementary schools as England and Wales and quite as high a standard. Japan has twelve thousand busy technical schools teeming with more than a million eager young men and women, and five universities (the oldest dating only from 1877) with a staff of over one thousand, and nearly ten thousand students—about the same number as are now attending the four great Scottish universities. The story of education in Japan contains more than one example of a lad walking three hundred miles to enter high school, and, in face of extreme poverty and difficulty, fighting his way through. It is said that five or even ten times as many men as can be admitted take the stiff entrance examination to the high schools, and after a hard day's work thousands of apprentices and artisans are found in the evening schools.

The Japanese scholar is a real seeker after truth. He breaks loose easily from old authority and faces all modern thought, but he retains a veneration for the great past of his nation and is intensely nationalistic and patriotic. His old world lives on, making a background against which the new intellectual life is lived.

Education is the most important instrument in the social development of any land; but the system of education in Japan is secular, while education is fundamentally a spiritual enterprise. To exclude religion from it is to omit the greatest factor in setting worthy traditions and creating motives, ideals, and standards for a people. Japan's splendid educational development constitutes a challenge to Christianity to inject into the

thought currents which flow from the schools the spirit and principles of Jesus Christ.

The Christian contribution to the educational ferment in Japan is, however, very feeble if regard is had to numbers alone. "The total enrollment of the Christian schools is only fifty thousand, over against a total of eleven million in the Government schools.[1] The few Christian schools are, however, more important than the number of pupils would indicate, and none who are concerned with the real welfare of Japan can overlook them. They have a great contribution to make. But they must never be the medium of a foreign culture; they must ever become more Japanese. The task of the Christian school is to lead the way in the conception of education, and to supply highly trained, thoroughly Christian teachers. If Christianity is the hope of the world, its influence in shaping educational development is supremely important and the opportunity of the Christian teacher unrivaled.

IV

Education is a prime factor in the development of primitive peoples. It is a sign for good that African education bulks large in Christian statesmanship in these days.[2] "The main purpose of education is to

[1] Galen Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan*, p. 157.

[2] Two invaluable contributions to the understanding of the problem of African education have been made by the Commission sent to West Africa in 1921 and to East Africa in 1923 by the Phelps-Stokes foundation under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, and readers are earnestly commended to the study of the reports issued by these commissions.

fit a man for life, and therefore in a civilized community to fit him for his place as a member of that community." [1] But few regard the African as a possible member of "a civilized community"; he is simply not thought of in that way. So far as education of the African in Africa has gone, it is fortunate that it has been almost exclusively in the hands of missionaries. True education demands a passionate faith in the possibilities of those sought to be educated and a great insight into their needs; and the missionaries, more than any other class, understand the African mind, appreciate what is best in African customs, traditions and folk-lore, and realize the problems arising from the aggressive permeation of European civilization.

If the necessity of education for the African is recognized at all, the only safe course is to make such an effort to train him as will make this education a force for good and not a peril. If the African is to occupy his right place in his own land, education has to be adapted to his need, and the right kind of education can only be undertaken if the unchanging fundamental problems of Africa are not obscured. Modern thought is much at the mercy of the newsmonger, and the last "incident" or some hectic but transient situation makes better "copy" than the great drab problem of what is to be the place of the black man in his own land and among the nations. A colored prize-fighter gets more space in the press of the world in one day than all the problems of Africa put together get in one year.

[1] *Adult Education Committee Final Report*, Cmd. 321, 1919.

In considering the kind of education to be given to the African far too many people still think of him as one who has to be trained by a kind of inferior education to be a better hewer of wood and drawer of water for white people, and not for Africa. The improving of a mere human tool does not deserve to be called "education." It is essentially the same kind of training as we give to a horse or a mule.

The great failure of education in Africa, so far, has been in adaptation to the real needs of the community. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones [1] sets forth the modern objectives of African education as a sound development of character through religion, health, agricultural and industrial skill, improvement of family life, and recreation. Emphasis has in the past been laid on education suitable for clerical occupations instead of on such fundamental training as is required for self-development, say, of an agricultural community. Education, rightly considered, enables a man to regulate his bodily health, to occupy his place in the community, and to use his leisure and opportunities aright. In Africa hygiene must receive a large place in all education. "The ravages of disease among natives are terrible, the infant mortality in certain areas [in South Africa] reaching the appalling figure of four hundred and fifty per thousand, yet the study of hygiene and instruction in the rearing of infants are undertaken as a school subject in not more than fifteen per cent of the schools." [2] There is, however, increasing recognition of the importance

[1] In *Education in East Africa.*

[2] C. T. Loram in *International Review of Missions,* October, 1921.

of training African youth to assist in the overwhelming task of improving health and sanitary conditions.

The language of instruction ranks with the subject taught as a means of education. The European language of the governing nation is the means of uniting Africa with the great civilized world. It will, however, be a tragedy if the African vernaculars are not wisely conserved. Both are necessary to the fullest development of the Continent, but, with full appreciation of the European language, the use of the native tongue "is immensely more vital in that it is one of the chief means of preserving whatever is good in native customs, ideas, and ideals, and thereby preserving what is more important than all else, namely, native self-respect."[1] The maze of language and dialect found in Africa is unparalleled in any other country. There are some eight hundred known languages of which only about one hundred and eighty have been reduced to writing, but many of the languages and dialects are spoken by only a handful of people, and the number of dialects is steadily decreasing. One of the greatest needs of African education is a thorough survey of African languages so that the present confusion may be corrected and all that is best in the many vernaculars conserved.

Nowhere is the provision for native education adequate. In the Cape Province of the Union only twenty per cent of native children of school age are at school. In the various British colonies the situation varies very much, descending rapidly from the Cape Province standard. An outstanding exception is the Gold Coast,

[1] *Education in East Africa*, p. 19.

where educational activities are "noteworthy for their efficiency and extent, especially in comparison with those of other colonies."

Education of girls and women is everywhere generally neglected, and the enrollment of boys in schools outnumbers that of girls many times, especially in the more backward colonies. This is due to some extent to the opposition of natives themselves to the education of girls, but it has to be overcome if the best kind of African home life is to be built up.

The new educational policy in British Tropical Africa, as outlined in the Memorandum [1] submitted to the Secretary of State by the Advisory Committee set up by the Colonial Office, will mark a new day for Africa if it is seriously translated into practice. The Committee has formulated the broad principles which in its judgment should form the basis of a sound educational policy, and in their Memorandum it is laid down that:

Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy. But it reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all educational institutions by inspection and other means. Cooperation between Government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way. . . .

. . . Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances

[1] Cmd. 2374, 1925.

and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. . . .

Many rare ideals have found a tomb in a Parliamentary Paper, but the Advisory Committee which makes these recommendations is a continuing body whose duty it will be to see that the principles laid down are given the fullest consideration in every African Crown Colony, and the hope may be cherished that we are not once more "doping" conscience by lip service to great principles. Everyone who cares for the expansion of Christianity in tropical Africa is called on to take all possible steps to secure that the suggestions in the Memorandum are carried out in the fine spirit in which they were laid down. Pioneers in education could hardly find a more attractive task.

V

In more advanced countries many factors outside the school contribute to the education of the people. The church, the press, the shop, the factory, sport, all play their part. So, also, in other lands every new element

in environment, every contact with other races, every new impact on life is subtly but surely molding thought and shaping outlook. Indeed, the whole world today is a whispering gallery, and education is far wider than the schools. Self-determination cannot be sought by Europeans or racial equality by Orientals without reaction everywhere to these ideas. The peril is in the kind of mind on which the ideas react. The wrongs or supposed wrongs of a people and the irksome pressure of European governments, easily throw men into the arms of any agitator who comes along. Indigenous leadership of one kind or another is inevitable, and if the Christian schools have not provided other and better leaders, the white man has no right to turn round and blame the Asiatic or the African.

One of the great facts of the recent development of education in non-Christian lands is the opening of the doors of knowledge to women. Sudden changes have taken place in the lives of the girls who have passed through schools, the tendency on the part of educated young women everywhere being to revolt against observance of old customs. In their wildest dreams the veiled women of the Turkey of 1914 could hardly have foreseen a day when Moslem girls would glide along the corridors of the University of Constantinople, in the city of the Caliph himself. Today the university takes little notice of what has become a normal factor in its life. In Egypt, under the shadow of the ancient Azhar, forty-five thousand girls are receiving instruction in State-aided colleges and schools, with the result that Moslem women have put forward proposals for the reform of the marriage laws. Educated women in

Persia and Korea run women's newspapers. In India, where women are so markedly unaggressive in claiming "rights," some women students hold political congresses and demand for their sex the right to sit on all representative bodies. A new class is emerging in all eastern lands, the women who earn their own living as teachers, typists, nurses, bank clerks, telephone girls, etc. The Christian Church is in no small measure responsible for all these changes. She was the pioneer in girls' education and must seek so to guide the new movement that these educated women shall become real leaders of their own people in solving many of the difficult problems of womanhood and childhood in their own lands.

There is another subtle and widespread form of education going on all the time through racial contact in western colleges and universities. Sixty years ago, the first Chinese students arrived in America—coming, of course, from mission schools. These were the van of a great trek to the colleges of America, Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium. Now they come in increasing numbers. In October, 1924 there were, for example, one thousand five hundred and seventy-three Asiatics entered in British universities or university colleges; and there were over two thousand Chinese in the United States alone, of whom one in ten was a girl student. These students coming to Europe or America are hardly prepared for the shock of their first contact with the defects of western civilization. While the Church in the mission field has its own responsibility in the matter, there lies on the Churches of the West the task of bringing Oriental and African stu-

dents into contact with the best sides of western life in order that these men and women returning to their own lands may carry with them a richer life rooted in respect and love for the person of Jesus.

Education in almost every land today is the growing concern of governments; indeed the day when governments "cared for none of these things" is rapidly passing. This new care for education brings it within the range of national policy, and one danger in West and East is that its healthy development may be affected adversely by narrow national or even sectional interests. After centuries of accumulated learning the position of education in the world today is a matter of grave concern, and it is seriously imperilled by national aims. Our own generation is groping after true educational principles, and those who care for the progress of mankind are confronted with the task of strengthening sound educational policies everywhere.

Any consideration of education in Asia and Africa raises questions of the first magnitude for educators in Christian countries. How is the West going to educate its own children that they may live worthily in a world created by such formative influences as we have been discussing? The increasing impacts and reactions of East and West make this an urgent and crucial question. World leadership is being made in the schools of all lands whether these be Christian, non-Christian, or anti-Christian. There never was a time when international leadership was more unequally yoked for a great task, and yet, however traditions, ideals, and cultures differ, all must learn to pull together. Friendship and fellowship are demanded on a

difficult basis, but unless they can be created, there can be no true understanding between peoples. One of the greatest problems of our changing world is how to educate our young people that they may achieve an international fellowship that will stand the strain of such diversity of faith and ideal. The new spirit of education is abroad in India, China, Japan, and Africa, and it is just as steadily permeating the Moslem world. Here is a great region of human activity world wide in its reactions. Is it to be outside the expansion of Christianity?

Every one must regard with reverence the spectacle of unlettered Africans, of Orientals living in comparative ignorance of the great modern world, of cloistered daughters of the Indian zenana, of the walled-in sisters of China, suddenly entering, through modern education, into the wonders of history, science, and literature. The mind is awed by the thought of the untold possibilities which modern education brings to such people. We can see the almost inevitable pressure towards westernization, the crushing of indigenous culture, the risks of narrow nationalism, the danger of arousing fierce intellectual collisions consequent on the penetration of new cultures, the clash of opposing interests, and the rivalries of trade and commerce. And we must fearlessly seek to find out whether Christianity can saturate education in East and West with the full free spirit of truth, and make it vibrate with the dominating message of Love and Service which is the greatest liberating force we can offer to mankind. Surely education is an internal necessity of the Christian movement everywhere. In every land the mind

of youth is on trek. The Christian Church may, provided her gifts are national in sympathy and outlook, wise in conception, and offered in the spirit of service and cooperation, take as large a share as she can handle in molding the spirit of education in any country. The opportunity is amazing and the possibilities are inestimable, for there are no undeveloped resources in the world comparable with the undeveloped human mind.

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CHAPTER VI

THE BREAK-UP OF PAN-ISLAM

One of the outstanding factors in any consideration of the problems concerning the expansion of Christianity in the post-war world is the failure of the other old religions to adjust themselves to the social and political changes of the times. Whether Christianity itself has any sure word for mankind will be discussed in the concluding chapters of this book. The present chapter deals with recent happenings in the world of Islam, by way of inquiring into the ability of the one great non-Christian faith which actively seeks world dominion to meet the needs of the new situation.

Like the writer, most visitors to Damascus make an adventurous climb to the roof of a sort of lean-to shop against a doorway in the old part of the Great Mosque. In this perilous journey all the lusty Damascenes within sight assist—a motley, picturesque group, developing subsequently into an increasing crowd bent on baksheesh. The old doorway has a magnificent lintel in the purest classical style on which in crude and cramped Greek letters—evidently the rude work of a later time—the visitor reads these stirring words of the 145th Psalm: "Thy kingdom [O Christ], is an everlasting kingdom and Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations."

That doorway illustrates the strange history not only of the Great Mosque but of much of Islam. Part of the present building was crowded with the worshipers

of Jupiter in the days when Paul, with sightless eyes, was led into Damascus. It was subsequently converted by royal decree into a Christian church. After the coming of Mohammedanism and the conquest of Damascus—for some time the seat of the caliphate—the building offered the strange spectacle of Christian church and Mohammedan mosque under the same roof; but in the course of time it became altogether a Moslem mosque and is now to Mohammedans one of the most sacred spots in that holy city. The mosque and its courts are crowded at times with as many as thirty thousand worshipers. Islam arose after Christ, and its greatest conquests were in lands that had become Christian territory. Even the cradle of Christianity has for hundreds of years been a Moslem country.

Many of the great passages in history are concerned with the rise and decay of religions, and in the Islamic world another of these chapters is now being written. While all down the centuries Christianity has been rent and torn by internal dissensions, the Church being far too often more bent on upholding some cherished dogma than on following Christ, Islam, scattered over three continents, has, however much Sunnis and Shias may have hated each other, for twelve hundred years presented a solid front to the outside world, united in a common bond that transcends language, race, custom, and political allegiance. Today the whole Moslem world is thrown into confusion by the breakdown of its age-long unity, a breakdown to which various influences have contributed.

I

When in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, one of the great cross-roads of the world was formed astride the ancient home of Islam, and a new era in Moslem lands became inevitable. Slowly new influences and new thoughts began to penetrate. Moslem peoples had perforce to look the modern world in the face, and as more and more they felt the pulse of its life, their outlook was inevitably turned westward. The swiftness of this new orientation is sometimes startling. Little more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the conquest of the Sudan. Today the new generation of Berberi and Sudanese are the prized and efficient domestic servants of the Near East, and are trusted with any responsibility from nursing babies to driving "Fords."

The World War rapidly hastened the process of facing westwards. Formerly armies passed through Moslem countries, and campaigns were lost and won, without deflecting by a hairbreadth the manner of life of the people or stirring a new thought. That tradition was broken in 1914. In the War the Moslem world was divided against itself; its members were ranged on different sides with Christian allies, and even an appeal by Turkey, with the caliphate behind it, entirely failed to stir up a "holy war" against the unbeliever. The Moslem seems to have had the feeling that there was something incongruous in an alliance for a "holy war" between Moslem Turks and Christian Germans.

Moslem troops from India came in their thousands

to the western battle fronts, and returned to their remote Indian villages with strange new impressions of the great big world. They saw that the writ of Islam did not run in the powerful West, that men there tolerated all religions, indeed that most folk had none. In the Near East there were never less than two hundred thousand Egyptian fellaheen in the labor corps of the allied armies—building a railway through the desert, delivering the fresh waters of the Nile to thirsty Tommies before Gaza, learning many strange new habits from these same Tommies, from "soccer" fever to a craze for the "movies," and all going back to their own villages with many dizzy facts of the great world penetrating their foggy consciousness. A leading nationalist in Cairo told the writer that the nationalists could have made no appeal to the fellaheen of Egypt but for their exposure to close contact with the armies of the Empire.

In the quaint old-world bazaars of any Moslem town there flow strange tides of life, and there mingle in that fascinating ebb and flow many new things which make a visitor think furiously. Probably one of the most penetrating new influences in all Moslem lands is the cinema. It is dispossessing the unconscious East of many time-worn ideas. Charlie Chaplin and Douglas Fairbanks are known to Moslems from Morocco to the Straits Settlements: everywhere they draw forth the great elemental human emotions; groups of Moslems in crowded, little, mean picture houses in every village of North Africa and the Near East are unconsciously learning to laugh and weep with the West.

Next to the heroes of the cinema the best known

name in Moslem lands is Henry Ford; thousands of people, who have never seen a car, are producing and transporting petrol for it. Not so long ago, in the days of the dignified leisure of the camel, the Christian stranger was a man apart, whom the Moslem only knew as a passing traveler, or through occasional business transactions. Motor transport is slowly effecting a revolution in human relationships. In place of the old incidental contacts, men of all religions and races mingle all the time in almost every relation of life.

Today the car is ubiquitous. In Palestine before the War there were almost no cars; but five years after the armistice there were more than four hundred registered in Jerusalem alone, and cars are now being imported into Palestine at the rate of about three hundred a year. In 1913 the traveler took three days to travel from Jerusalem to Nazareth in a Turkish wagon, carrying tents for night and food for day, with a small retinue of camp followers in attendance and at least one Turkish soldier for protection from robbers. Ten years later the writer made the journey easily between early breakfast and midday in a sumptuous Hudson car, in the sole company of a Moslem driver, the only impedimenta being a luncheon basket. The tourist taking a casual walk out of Damascus along the desert road to the east will hardly be startled to meet a great dust-covered car completing the weekly twenty-four hour trip from Baghdad to Beirut,[1] nor will he be surprised when in the Haifa train a fellow-countryman at his elbow mentions in the most offhand way that he left Basra the day before by aeroplane.

[1] "Nairn's car" has done the journey in 16½ hours.

The railway train, though a slowly permeating influence compared with the car, began another revolution. It attacked the Oriental at a vital point. For millenniums he was distinguished by the absence of a sense of time. The railway has given a time-sense to the dreaming East, for the railway schedule has to be followed, even if only in the Eastern's leisurely way.

In all this penetration of means of travel far-reaching mental and social consequences are involved. The whole life of the East is being molded by the influences that spring from means of rapid transport, and the consequent multiplying points of contact with the outside world. The old leisurely irrelevancy and politeness are apparently unalterable, but a vast network of new social contacts is being created everywhere, western trade and commerce are increasingly aggressive, new watchwords and new social ideals and new ethics borrowed from the West are slowly permeating Moslem lands. Islam has for twelve centuries dwelt in a closed world absolutely hostile to Christianity. But today the old Moslem lands can no longer live a sort of semi-cloistered existence; they are swinging out into the great currents of the world's life.

Not only are the railway, the motor, and the cinema making breaches in the old mind of Islam; the schoolmaster is abroad. The new contact with the outside world provokes a desire to know more about it, and one of the big social facts of today is that the whole Moslem world is learning to read. Everywhere there is a growing desire for modern education. For every place in mission or government schools there are eager aspirants for entry into the magic world of books. For

these the art of reading the printed page is going to be a dizzy leap into a whole new world of ideas. A significant fact is the preference many Moslem parents, even in the holy cities of Islam, have for Christian schools. The writer saw in a great Christian College the son of a high official in Mecca whose special desire it was that his boy should receive a Christian education. In these schools these young men have Christianity presented to them for the first time, they study the life and teaching of Jesus, they live and work and play in fellowship with Christian boys and Christian masters. This subtle social contact is all the time forming a pathway for the expansion of Christianity.

Literate Moslems become omnivorous readers. There are probably nearly one thousand Arabic journals. In 1921 there were forty-six newspapers in Persia. In Cairo alone seventy-five newspapers are published, some of which are read from Morocco to the Philippines. All these papers turn the mind to the world stage: they are full of strange words, "reform," "freedom," "independence," "self-determination," "democracy," "Soviet," "Bolshevism." The disputation today is not in the market-place but in the newspaper, and "Islam has become a world of newspapers."

In the wake of the newspapers there is a great stream of cheap modern literature—mainly translations of modern western books—undoubtedly containing much declamatory trash but including the best science, history, poetry and philosophy. On every hand suggestive facts emerge. "The Chief of the Kashgais, lord of thirty thousand black tents on the Persian hills, subscribes to the London *Times* and has Reuter's telegrams

translated to him." [1] The Government bookshop at Baghdad has in two years supplied eighteen sets of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to Arab customers.

This new interest in education and literature is extending to women. The old ideas of subordination of women still hold with tenacious grip, but it is inevitable that if Moslem girls are taught to read, emancipation will come. Dr. Robert E. Speer mentions that there have been several attempts in Persia to publish newspapers for Moslem women. Women are already vocal in more countries than one. A Conference of Indian Moslem ladies in 1918 protested strongly against polygamy, and this sign of ethical advance is only symptomatic of the new point of view in matters social that must take place with the opening of the mind of Moslem women through modern education and literature.

II

The penetration from without of the closed mind of Islam is going on steadily, but the great break in Islam is from within. The caliphate has ceased to be the rallying center.

One of the central elements in the Islamic system has always been the unity of the temporal and spiritual power through the caliphate. The Caliph, as the successor of Mohammed, is the head of the Islamic theocracy. He is not like the Prophet, merely a spiritual officer; his function is also secular. The Caliph is chief magistrate, hence the importance in the mind

[1] *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands*, p. 258.

of the Moslem of uniting that office with temporal power.

The first Caliph (Abu Bakr) was appointed by the community gathered round the grave of Mohammed. During the first eight centuries the caliphate was held successively by various dynasties, there being several forcible breaks in the succession. In 1582 the Ottoman Turks, then at the height of their power, invaded Egypt, at that time the seat of the caliphate, and captured the Caliph who was induced to transfer the caliphate, with its insignia, to the Turkish Sultan. Political power and possession of the holy places made his position unassailable; indeed, Turkey alone, of all Moslem states, was capable of furnishing the political power with which the caliphate should be clothed.

The mystic symbol of the caliphate again and again rallied as by magic the whole Moslem world in support of the Turkish states, even when those states have been most rotten and cruel, and time after time the humanitarianism of the West retired baffled and beaten. The Treaty of Lausanne was not a triumph for Turkey: the Sultan was at one and the same time Sultan and Caliph, and the victory at Lausanne was the fruit of the mystic power enshrined in the caliphate. It was only secured by steady pressure on the West from every Moslem country—especially India—called forth by an appeal to the interest of the caliphate. The Turk has again and again exploited this sentiment by constituting himself through the caliphate the spearhead of Islam against the aggression of the unbeliever.

Now the apparently impossible has happened: not only has a Caliph been rudely overthrown, but the

caliphate itself has been declared by the Turkish government to be abolished!

Till quite recently the Sultans of Turkey continued to be Caliph and Sultan, but after the formation of the new Turkish Republic the link between Sultan and Caliph was abruptly broken towards the close of 1922. The Caliph, the spiritual head of all Islam, was made a puppet of the Republic, and the Moslem world accepted the changed status with a wry face. The caliphate still existed, but as one writer said, "The Caliph was disestablished, although not disendowed." [1] To the Moslem a Caliph without temporal power was inconceivable, and it was hardly likely that the reverence and loyalty which, for four hundred years, had been accorded in every part of the Moslem world to the Sultan-Caliph would continue to be paid to a Caliph who was no longer the head of a state.

The Moslem had not had time to adjust his mind to the new situation when, in the beginning of March, 1924, there was flashed from end to end of the world of Islam the news of the deposition of the Caliph, and the abolition of the caliphate by the Angora Assembly [2] of the young Turkish Republic.

[1] *The Times,* Leading Article, 2nd November, 1923.

[2] Angora, a town of some 35,000 inhabitants, was made and still is the seat of government of the new Grand National Assembly of Turkey set up early in 1920. Two years later this self-appointed body overthrew the government at Constantinople of the Sultan-Caliph, who fled and took refuge on a British man-of-war. The Sultan's cousin was elected by the Grand National Assembly to the caliphate, but in 1924 the Assembly, as stated above, deposed the new Caliph and abolished the office of caliphate.

III

Orthodox Moslems were shocked and paralyzed by the action of Turkey. The first reaction was the precipitate proclamation in Transjordania of King Hussein as Caliph. Damascus, which the writer was visiting at the time, speedily followed suit. A gathering of Moslem leaders was summoned by the *Mufti* (the head of the Moslem community), and on the 7th of March, 1924, in the presence of some thirty thousand people gathered in the Grand Mosque and its Great Court, King Hussein was proclaimed Caliph. That was a memorable Friday in Damascus. The proclamation was followed by scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm. The bazaars were packed with crowds from the city and surrounding provinces containing a liberal sprinkling of North Africans, Turks, Kurds, Persians, Circassians, and even Afghans, as strange and fascinating a concourse as that romantic city ever witnessed. On the day after, Damascus presented a striking contrast. The same bazaars were closed, and the streets almost deserted. Rumor had it that the French Government had remonstrated with the Moslem authorities for their action on the previous day, and that the *Mufti* had vigorously objected to the interference of the civil government in matters of faith, religious liberty having been guaranteed by the Mandate for Syria in favor of the French Government. The bazaars were closed to emphasize this protest. Here was Islam appealing for religious liberty to a compact between Western powers, a thing that had not happened in all its history! Followers of Moham-

med had always despised the liberty they could not win by the sword. The incident illustrates an important stage in the break-up of Pan-Islam.

The swift action by Damascus concerning the caliphate was due to two things. That city specially resented Angora's warning against pilgrimages to Mecca. Damascus is one of the holy places of Islam and the usual starting-point for these great pilgrimages from those countries which converge on Syria; and, as might be expected, the Damascenes at once showed opposition to the Turkish proposal—"by this craft we have our wealth." But there was another and a deeper reason for the proclamation. It meant that the Moslem world was in no mood to take the decision of Angora lying down. This was amply confirmed by telegrams from India and Egypt. Moslems openly expressed their dismay at the action of the Turks. They were outraged by the disregard shown for the deeply-rooted faith of Islam in the unity of the temporal and spiritual power, while the indignity to the office of the Caliph and the exhibition of dissension before unbelievers wounded their pride.

It was clear that a mere order from Angora to the Caliph to descend from his throne would not put an end to the caliphate. A forcible change of Caliph might have taken place without ruffling the calm of Islam. Almost from the first Caliphs have been cast down and set up, but the startling fact in the new situation was the attempt not merely to remove the Caliph (whom strangely enough no one has thought of restoring) but the decision to abolish the caliphate itself. Did Mustapha Kemal, the head of the Turkish

Republic, mean gratuitously to outrage the whole Moslem world?

Pan-Islam had again and again been the shield of Turkey. Why was such never-failing armor thrown aside? The conclusion can only be that in the eyes of Angora the danger to Turkish nationalism represented by the presence of a puppet Caliph outweighed the value of this unseen defense. The situation was full of temptation to any strong political adventurer connected with the House of Othman to seize the reins of government and unite again in his person the Sultan-Caliphate, sure of the strong support which the prestige of such a position would call forth. To secure Turkish nationality in the shape of the Republic, or rather, perhaps, to secure its ambitious president from such a risk, the desperate step was taken of disentangling the caliphate for ever from Turkish national life, not only by deposing the Caliph but by declaring the office of caliphate at an end. The time had come when Pan-Islam had to bow to the self-interest of nationality.

Probably the Turks shrewdly suspected that before many days one or other of the reigning Moslem princes *elsewhere* would seize the office even if they were unable to identify it again in the mind of the devout and orthodox Mohammedan with adequate political power. As events turned out, Angora read the Moslem mind aright.

Startling confirmation of the rift in Islam was to come within six months. The Caliph-King, Hussein, has himself in turn been swept aside, and another is on his throne. This incident was accompanied by the

capture and plundering of Mecca, a violation of the Holy City which has greatly disturbed Moslems, and which has led to the suggestion that Britain should undertake protection of the pilgrimage, an ironic comment on the Pan-Islamic system.

The future of the caliphate has become the subject of acute strife. When Turkey so unceremoniously removed the Caliph and declared the office to be abolished, arrangements were made by the head of Al Azhar, Cairo, for a conference of Sunni Moslem leaders to reestablish the caliphate and to elect a Caliph who would command the following of all Islam. The name of King Fouad, who is an orthodox Moslem, appears to be that most favored. He would bring to the office a certain prestige as King of Egypt, but the consent of Moslem leaders in other lands, which do not love Egypt, would be necessary, and action has been delayed owing to the fear of further divisions.

IV

Islam has till now made national and racial frontiers links instead of barriers, giving it a great and unparalleled unity. The symbol of unity was the caliphate. The age-long unity of Islam through that symbol is now broken. The factors making against unity are too strong; rifts grow wider within. In olden days the power to depose by the sword carried the power to settle the succession by the sword. That arbiter is no longer available; nationalism has shivered the blade. "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Nationalism is only in its early days in Moslem lands.

Turkey, which seemed only a few years ago to be the last important Islamic state, is now a modern republic, and will soon have many contemporaries all over the Near East, and possibly some day in India. Islam is in transition, and all in the western world who care for the expansion of Christianity cannot but watch with interest a situation which affects the faith and life and thought of over two hundred millions of the human race.

Since the beginning of the present century two influences—social and political—have been at work in Islamic lands with far-reaching effects. The old view was that the world of Islam was unchanging and unchangeable; that view is no longer true. It would be a mistake, on the other hand, to assume that Mohammedanism is breaking up. A religion which for twelve hundred years has held absolute dominion over individuals, communities, and national life, and which has created unexampled unity, does not decay in a night. But the old front of Islam, which in our time seemed absolutely unbroken, has had shattering shocks.

Islam's problem today is how to maintain its old position unimpaired in face of the full blast of the life of the modern world, and it is asking itself whether the old system can meet the needs of the new situation. Some Moslem leaders are seeking stability for Islam in a Mohammedan renaissance. The stricter observance of special days in the calendar; e.g., the Prophet's birthday, is being emphasized by the orthodox. In the Near East there is increasing pressure to close shops on Fridays and to pay stricter attention to the observance of the hours of prayer. But the old ortho-

dox fanaticism can with difficulty be stirred in some centers even by the spectacle of converts from Islam to Christianity openly attending Christian worship. Islam is by no means longing for a great spiritual adventure, and these efforts at more orthodox observance will not meet the case. The Islamic system is in inevitable collision with new ideas. Religion is always an aid or an obstacle to national aspirations, and it is the breakdown of Pan-Islam in face of the growth of nationality that makes the present situation so significant.

Islam claims spiritual sufficiency, but Moslems are conscious that Islam, as it is, does not fit the new standards of life and thought in the world. They are searching after a fresh unity, but have not yet discovered it. Upheaval means the opening of closed minds, and always creates a pathway for Christianity. The social and political changes, culminating in the breakdown of Pan-Islam, opened for Christian occupation great regions of the human spirit which have been closed for centuries.

To the Church of Christ all these new stirrings are but the utterances of human need, and it is over against the need of men that the Church has been entrusted with the good news of the gospel. In Moslem lands the ancient barque of Islam is entering on stormy uncharted seas. It is carrying precious if dangerous cargo—awakened peoples, unbridled movements, tempest-tossed nations. Argonauts of a bigger faith, with surer chart and compass, are needed to salve such treasure.

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CHAPTER VII

THE REAL CONFLICT

One of the dangers of modern thought lies in the fact that analysis is often mistaken for construction. In the preceding chapters we have very briefly surveyed one or two of the main movements of the world in which our fathers lived, and have tried to indicate some of the great movements in the world of today. But to trace the history of events is not necessarily to understand the deep meaning of things; and we must carry our inquiry a little further and look into the mainsprings of human conduct. A constructive road can only be found if we understand what are the underlying forces warring against each other in all these world movements.

I

We were startled to find that the century which was ushered in with Carey and Napoleon had hardly closed when the ideals they typified were reflected in a world missionary conference and a world war. "Edinburgh, 1910" celebrated a century of unrivaled progress in the expansion of Christianity, and almost simultaneously a war on an unparalleled scale burst on the world. Here were two historic events, each the inevitable climax of a certain course of history. Human life had run in two separate streams. There was a growing moral and spiritual influence in one region of human life, and in another a swelling tide of material forces.

It was not the collision of these two ideals, however, that brought about the world war. The war was simply the clash of rivalries in international politics, economic development, spheres of influence, and imperial ambitions. The ultimate conflict lies deeper in the realm of the spirit.

We saw that the expansion of Christianity following on the Evangelical Revival was part of the dramatic evolution of the last hundred and fifty years, and that in the latter half of the eighteenth century several other great streams of human activity had broken out in Christendom, the movements of which by no means synchronized with the expansion of Christianity. While the Evangelical Revival, the expansion of Europe, the rise of modern democracy, and the industrial revolution have *together* shaped the modern world, the influence of the Christian movement generally, for various reasons, was limited.

The expansion of Christianity was strangely isolated in the thought and life of the Church, and the Church itself was isolated in the great stream of the world's life. It was never altogether a backwater in those hundred and fifty years, but its effect on the course of that middle stream of world life was lamentably feeble. It is as if there had been an unequal pace between two activities. Man in a century and a half has traveled an illimitable distance in mastery of the forces of nature and in material progress, as compared with the advance made in the things of the spirit. Europe expanded under the influence of a spirit of domination and exploitation. The humanitarian movement coming late on the scene had to fight a long and

dour battle against the worst evils of that expansion, and the victory is not yet. Democracy arose and was generally met with cold suspicion as a thing of evil, and with distrust as an enemy of religion. The Kingsleys and Chalmerses of those bygone days appear like lights that only emphasize the general murkiness of the long night. Modern industry grew silently into the monster octopus-like thing it has become, spreading its tentacles over man and nature alike, scorning religion as the harmless chatter of pious priests and devout women. In a word, all these conquests of men in the physical world, the marvels of invention and the vast development of trade and industry, have been irresistible creators of materialistic conceptions of the world and the people that dwell therein.

In every sphere of life causes produce inevitable consequences. With such an onrush of the material we need not be surprised if human history steadily moved in one direction with a logic of its own, and that the end of a most marvelous century was the World War. The War was simply a dramatic and startling exhibition of what was inherent in the development of the history of Europe in the previous hundred years. What God poured into life for its enrichment and service became in the hands of a sin-corrupted world an instrument of the devil. Not only the wealth of men, but God-given ingenuity and the resources of invention were dedicated to the same sinister power. What were obviously the free gifts of God, meant to set men and women at leisure to develop their higher natures, to increase genuine human culture, and to make life a thing of service, were in

reality dedicated to the destruction of the human race on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Here essentially was a conflict between two ideals.

When St. Paul wishes to represent this conflict he speaks of it as a contest between the flesh and the spirit; in modern times we should describe it as a warfare between matter and spirit.

There is, however, no essential conflict between the two. All material things are gifts from God to mankind. But the moment the material is allowed to dominate life, it is inevitably in conflict with the spiritual. The issue is between the subordination of the material to the spiritual and the capitulation of the spiritual to a selfish materialism.

II

In all the surging life of the world today—nationalism and internationalism, the uprising of youth, the conflict of race, the industrialization of the Orient, the opening up of Africa, the spread of education in every land—these two forces, matter and spirit, are too often in open conflict; the one, overwhelming, strident, assertive, making for disintegration; the other, almost always feeble but ever making for unity and fellowship.

These two forces are clearly seen in modern national and international movements. The magic word "self-determination" has caught the imagination of many races in the world, and for the most part it has been interpreted as "self-assertion," so that national aspirations are clashing not only with the older empires, but,

more ominously, with each other. The sense of nationality is one of the instincts implanted by God in the human heart. Nationalism is sometimes the finest thing in the world—the common consciousness of a great heritage in history, tradition, language, religion, literature, and art, coupled with a passion to conserve and enrich these things and to share them with all mankind so that the world may be a better and a happier place. At other times it is a pitiful little selfish thing, a center of fear and unrest, feverishly seeking its own ends at the expense of others and erecting futile barriers against the outside world. It too easily succumbs to the doctrine that it is to its advantage that neighbors should be thwarted and forestalled in everything. Nationalism and its slogan "patriotism" are often meaningless words, just a sentiment appealed to in support of action that cannot stand on its merits. Patriotism is often a cloak to conceal self-interest or absence of reason and facts. Very tardily has the British public inscribed on Nurse Cavell's monument the words, "Patriotism is not enough." Nurse Cavell was right: patriotism is not enough. Standing on the edge of two worlds she saw clearly that only in the full application of Christian brotherhood between man and nations was there any hope for the world.

It is passing strange that nationalism and internationalism should be regarded as incompatible. Just as the strength of family ties is not the enemy but the very basis of a sound social order, so true nationalism is not the foe but the handmaid of internationalism. On the well-being of the family depends the welfare of the state, and the freedom of the state is necessary

to a healthy internationalism. The old doctrine of the sovereignty of the state—carrying absolute rights but no obligation—cannot live in the modern world. Surely sovereignty does not negative the willing acceptance of obligation, nor does it disappear if rights are voluntarily waived for the common good. Healthy sovereignty means the wise and just exercise of national freewill.

True nationalism—and its ally internationalism—are struggling for a hearing in the minds and consciences of men. Self-interest is ever in conflict with self-interest, and men are ever on the edge of great disputes because the supposed interests of one people come into collision with those of another or are hindered by the stolidity of a primitive race. And in the result we have complications, disagreements, wars and rumors of wars. Political agreements, unless based on goodwill, will not carry the nations very far. They too often have their sanction in self-interest, in necessity, or in prudence; and when these fail to operate, agreement ceases. Permanent goodwill must be rooted in the mind and soul of man, and only on true principles implanted there can there be any stable order in human society. Goodwill, however, in itself is not enough. Organization for its expression is imperative. While it is true that political agreements without goodwill inevitably fail, goodwill without international organization to make it effective will avail little. Should not Christian folk today find in the realm of international politics one of the greatest possible opportunities for making goodwill effective?

There are woefully few signs of international good-

will; there are, rather, signs that give cause for grave disquiet. It may indeed be that after a momentary pause the insane race of armaments will be entered into with keener zest. Even a man of such penetrating intellect as Lord Birkenhead is convinced that, human nature being what it is, there is no alternative but to sharpen our swords and furbish our armor. He was only speaking aloud the thoughts that many others are afraid to utter.

We need have no illusions as to what the final result of such a policy must be. Those who reflect on the devilish ingenuity of the destructive powers that lie in modern engines of warfare can tell pretty shrewdly that another war will certainly bring us near to the extinction of our civilization. If we doubt this, let us go to the admirals and generals and they will tell us in unmistakable terms that even since the signing of the Armistice there have been great developments in scientific methods of destruction. High explosives capable of wiping out great masses of noncombatants, shells fired from long-range monster guns, poisonous gases, bombs filled with death-dealing germs, and long-distance aeroplanes to carry them, are all part of the ordinary calculations of a modern General Staff. Give, say, another twenty years of such development with equal if not greater rapidity, and the world is faced with a prospect that makes every serious man shudder. The safest place in the next war will be in the front line! The destruction of human life involved in such a picture is a prospect challenging enough in its possibilities. Yet the real challenge lies deeper still. It means the defeat of the spiritual—the failure of life to control

its material side—the overpowering of the second Adam by the first.

The same conflict is equally evident in industry. The nineteenth century saw a sudden and startling accretion to the material resources of life. For the time being at all events, as we have seen, the material side of life was in the ascendancy. Wealth and the power to get wealth were suddenly let loose upon the human race. The world produced and consumed, consumed and produced, and waxed fat and gross. Wealth was power; it was the symbol of the nineteenth century life. The energies of life were consumed in the fevered haste of production. The spiritual was thrust out and denied its place. The sin of the century lay in the adoption of the maxim, "Man shall live by bread alone." Indeed, it may be contended with some show of reason that we have here the essential nature of sin. It is the choice of the service of Mammon instead of the service of God; it allows the material side of life to master the spiritual; however disguised, it is essentially a denial of the supremacy of the spiritual. It is too late in the day to question the social, moral, and spiritual consequences of the industrial system. Industrialism in England during the past hundred and fifty years has profoundly affected the quality of the national life and character; it touches human life too closely to be non-moral. The two forces, matter and spirit, are in conflict in industry all the time.

The sweep of the conflict is even wider than the nation. There is civil industrial war within the nations,

and perpetual industrial war between the nations; and in all this strife there is as sure an abandonment of the issues to material forces as in ordinary war they are left to the hazard of the sword. The industrialism now developing in the East is being modeled on that of the West. To the Orient we have carried much that is good and a good deal more that is evil—modern materialism, modern industrialism, modern armaments —and have implanted there the assumption of the Occidental industrial system, that economic gain is the one real consideration in the development of human society. The East has not been slow to learn.

Even now the real character of these dominant influences in life is hardly recognized by the Church. An illustration may help to make the argument clear. Early in 1925 some startling figures were published showing the colossal growth of wealth in the United States of America, which it was estimated in that year was not less than $320,000,000,000, representing a tenfold increase within fifty years. Some people expressed grave concern at the peril to spiritual life if a fair proportion of that increased wealth did not find its way into "Christian service." Surely the facts rather suggest another peril—the overwhelming amount of sheer materialism expressed in this rapid amassing of dollars. The production of wealth at such a pace involves the capture of the human spirit by the forces which create it. A vast amount of concentrated energy is absorbed in the conception, planning, carrying out, and guiding of the material forces that made this huge increase in income possible. It cannot for a moment be

pretended that there is at present any sign of an adequate spiritual counterstroke to all that material absorption of the spirit of man.

Faced with such an onrush of materialism, men eagerly proclaim various refuges. Some would return to nature and some to asceticism, and some would fall back on various apocalyptic conceptions. These are counsels of despair and, apart from their hopelessness, would mean the abandonment of faith in the Kingdom of God and a surrender of the human spirit to another set of influences no less dangerous than the material forces we have been discussing.

In the clamor of the colored races the same conflict emerges. On the one hand there is the assertion of the right of self-interest to dominate, and on the other the revolt against domination, the demand of colored races to control their own lives. To them the one peril is the white peril. They fear and distrust and mean to oppose the effort by the white race—one fourth only of the human family—to shape human society and order history. We may well be appalled at the prospect of permanent human relations based on these conflicting attitudes. Is not the better way to recognize that differences are not necessarily antagonisms, but they may be complementary? Each race and nation has its special gifts, and only as all make their distinctive contribution to the common good can human progress be achieved. The true solution lies in willing cooperation of men, races and nations, but such cooperation can only be secured if spiritual ideals control material interests.

It was the accepted standards at home that gave Europe wrong standards for Africa. The growth of industry in Africa is slow, but the baneful spirit of trade, industry, and commerce in Europe is perverting the thought of white men both at home and in the colonies about the rightful place of the African in his own land. It has not yet been grasped that the greatest natural resource of Africa is the African, and that the standard of value transmitted by the old world is all wrong. And so we find the same warring principles —one emphasizing the value of personality, the other the rapid production of material wealth.

Education is everywhere tearing aside the veil of ignorance. The new progress in physical science effected a real change in the human mind, making it open and receptive, and everywhere it is receiving new impressions of one kind or another. The scientific discoveries of the European can no longer be kept secret from the East and from Africa. Their sons and daughters are being educated in the colleges and universities of the West and are returning in ever-increasing numbers to their own lands. The growth of education should mean better motives, higher aims, and higher ideals; but new knowledge may mean revolt ending in a futile impatient leap to a goal. It may mean added power for evil. In the modern human mind there is enough explosive material lying about to destroy what we call civilization. The sack of Rome by the Vandals and Goths may be repeated with all the added power of destruction now within the reach of men.

The youth of the world are reaching out wistfully for a new life; they attack Christianity and at the same time assert that the true struggle everywhere is a spiritual one. Sometimes the new spirit destroys rather than fulfils, but there is no need today to press on the opening mind of the youth of the world the argument that the present conflict is between material and spiritual conceptions of life.

One movement cannot be overlooked. The war gave rise to what must now be regarded as an international movement—the new political school known as Bolshevism. Founding itself upon the doctrines of Karl Marx, it has taken, for the time being at least, firm root in the life of Russia, where it established itself with comparative ease owing to the long and cruel oppression of the peasantry of that sad country. Moreover, the morbid and fatalistic temperament of the Slav, coupled with a backward religious development, lent itself readily to the Marxian doctrine of the "dictatorship of the Proletariat," developed later into the "dictatorship of the class-conscious minority."

The development of capitalism, the increasing contrast between wealth and poverty, and the denial to the masses of toilers of the right to share in the increase of the world's wealth, have provided well-prepared seed-beds for Bolshevism in many of the countries of the world. Bolshevism may readily enough project something comparable to a world war—a war of classes on hitherto unprecedented lines. Bolshevism is more than an economic doctrine. It is a philosophy of life—almost a creed. The real objection to Bolshe-

vism does not lie in its brutal cruelties—these are incidental to almost every revolution: the primary objection is that it sanctions force for the attainment of political ends, and is based on a purely materialistic view of history.

Acute observers have pointed out, however, that the new era in Russia does not altogether derive its support from the extreme Marxian doctrines above referred to. Perhaps operating as powerfully in the Slav mind is the authority of the guild, which is so deeply imbedded in Eastern social systems, and through which democracy in the Orient may ultimately best express itself, rather than through political institutions founded on Western models. It may indeed be that it is this appeal to the guild system that gives stability to the Moscow government as much as drastic application of the doctrine of dictatorship of the class-conscious minority.

The religious-like passion of Bolshevism is not without its appeal outside Russia. There is an upward striving for life readily discernible in the lives of great masses of the people in all western lands. In Britain and in most of the countries of central and western Europe it is largely guided by conscious reason based on a considered philosophy of evolutionary socialism with strong and enthusiastic leadership. The fate of a world may depend on whether evolutionary socialism can successfully withstand Bolshevism, which is making a determined endeavor to capture it. We cannot look forward to the future with much hope should such a possibility become a reality. A better world cannot be brought about " by transforming the organi-

zation of society without transforming its values." [1] We should merely have in Bolshevism an inverted capitalism equally if not more sinister, for here again we have the old conflict, attempted forcible domination of the spirit, and a situation which ought to set Christian men and women thinking more deeply.

III

Life is made up of relationships with other people. The central fact of human society is its solidarity. That solidarity creates certain rights and duties within the family, within the nation, internationally and interracially. These rights and duties rest solely on the fact of manhood. The claim to be regarded as men is just one way of asserting the spiritual conception of manhood. Such a claim, however, cannot be made good on the old level of human life and thought. Human relationships framed on a mere material basis have always broken down. Selfish ideals will strain and break, and self-interest will breed distrust between men. Nor will common passion hold men together. Even relationships developed in the red-hot passion of war will not stand the strain of the reaction. These unities are all soulless mechanism; men can only be held permanently together when their unity is based on a spiritual conception of life. Abiding cooperation between men and nations depends ultimately on the possibility of spiritual affinity.

Human history is passing to a new plane. In early times tribe was set over against tribe; in the Middle

[1] Zimmern, *Europe in Convalescence*, p. 44.

Ages, city against city, or feudal state against feudal state; and in later times nation against nation, or empire against empire. History is now rather moving to a plane where the relations of mankind conflict not in geographical areas but in regions of human activities —transport and communications, trade, industry and commerce, capital and labor, education and public health. The West has inoculated Africa and the East with white culture and modern industry, and Asia and Africa have handed back to us new gifts. In our own time they have produced rare human spirits like Kwegyir Aggrey, Rabindranath Tagore, T. Z. Koo, T. Kagawa, for whose lives and work the whole world is the richer; while the physical gifts of the Orient and Africa—the tea of Ceylon, the silks of China, the rubber of the tropics—have formed some of our most cherished social habits. Less welcome but equally well known features of our modern life, "flu" and "sleeping sickness," are gifts to us from these lands. In the world today all men live as neighbors; they are all interdependent, and life in every land acts and reacts on mankind everywhere.

The implications of human activities on this wide field of action and reaction are not always understood. For example, no one wants war, but many set their whole heart on things which can only be obtained by war. Again, we are all now committed to the principle that empire means trusteeship for backward peoples, but few of us realize that we must likewise be committed to certain definite courses of action if the principle is to be realized. Or again, when we carry abroad our practise of the appreciation of men accord-

ing to birth or wealth, we ought not to be surprised if it reproduces, in countries where such a thing was formerly unknown, the arrogance that arises from conscious possession and advantage, and the subtle insolence that makes one people regard another as in some way inferior. Power and influence are demonstrated in Christian lands by force, and we need not wonder if Africa and the East become our apt pupils. If non-Christian peoples find, in their bewildering helplessness against the god of materialism, no helping hand held out by the Christian nations, it is because these nations themselves lay no store on the grip of the Hand that guides the universe.

IV

In the beginning of the twentieth century hell on earth came perceptibly nearer because only part of the new energies of man had been claimed for God, and history may easily repeat itself. Men thought they could isolate religion in the life of the world. All other movements refused to be isolated because they touched life everywhere; but for a generation or two it appeared as if Christianity had nothing to say to these movements, with their corporate influence, corporate problems, sin, tyranny, duty, responsibility, and ideals. Is it not just here that the Church has missed? It has not definitely sought to bring *all* life into captivity to Jesus Christ. It has lived in the world alongside clashing tides of life, social, political, and industrial, without claiming them for Him. Therefore today the Church finds itself, in its outreach to the non-

Christian world, unavoidably faced with immense new mental and material activities in Africa and the Orient, but without any sure experience gathered in the West to guide its actions. Nay more, it is rather handicapped in all its efforts by the fact of its neglect to break through its limitation in Christian lands.

It may be asked, however, whether religion has any real bearing on all these questions. After all, may not segregation be the only safe race relationship—"one hundred per cent Americanism" be the best of all national ideals—armed neutrality the wisest international policy—unfettered materialism the best economic road for mankind—and a benevolent exploitation a necessary step in the upward path of backward lands? The answer is that the human soul is in revolution everywhere against such a view. The old order has hopelessly broken down, and

> All the king's horses and all the king's men
> Cannot put Humpty Dumpty together again.

Must the old world then just go stumbling on through the ruins, must material progress continue to create evil conditions within each nation, and produce international conflicts and bitter race rivalries? The answer depends on whether national or individual self-interest is put first and human personality second. The supreme thing in the Christian religion is its regard for human personality. What the world wants is an Einstein to introduce a new dimension into the whole matter, to show that economically, politically, and racially the results are all wrong unless full weight is given to spiritual and moral values. If religion has nothing to

do with nationalism, internationalism, racialism, industry, and commerce, then it must confess itself a failure, unable to help human life at the hour of greatest need in the modern world. But religion does claim to know the better road and to have the secret truth that will stand the growing strain of all problems circling round the development of human society. By that test Christianity must stand or fall, for, unless it can be shown that every issue of life can be solved in the realm of the spirit, Christianity cannot pretend to hold the secret of the hope of the world.

Is this insistence on spiritual domination defensible? Both conceptions of life—the spiritual and the material—are today stronger than ever before, are held more fervently, have more devotees and are more clearly discerned. This may sound paradoxical but it is simple truth. Is there, then, room for both in one world if it is to remain a safe world for humanity, or is mankind hurrying along to the real Armageddon? The answer is that life cannot be spoken of as consisting of two elements, material and spiritual, that can be sharply marked off from each other. They interpenetrate; they do more—they run into one indivisible unity so that some kind of relationship must be established between them within the unity of life. Where the material is uncontrolled, it becomes rebel and demands not merely a place but mastery. There is only freedom from strife in life when in each being the spirit reigns supreme and controls the material. Life's contacts—social, economic, and political—do not end on a material plane, nor can they rest on it. They touch the spirit of man, and the question is whether

in Christianity we can offer to the world what it needs most today—"a religion which wins in its solitary hours of devotion power to realize itself in the market and the senate and the embassy and the home and foreign mission field." [1]

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[1] D. S. Cairns, *Christianity in the Modern World.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE LEADER IN THE CONFLICT

In the preceding chapters we saw that the great and growing conflicts in modern life are just phases of the age-long struggle in which the material seeks to dominate the spiritual. But the pace of life today and the new unity of the world have made the issue closer and more urgent. There has been a sudden and enormous accretion to the material side of life. The world of commerce and industry has expanded with bewildering rapidity, the secrets of nature have been penetrated and utilized, and what were formerly looked upon as geographical and racial barriers have been hurled down so that all the material forces of life have been fused into a new unity. The forces that have been shaping the destiny of men in the modern world have arisen without any conscious direction. We are suddenly faced with the problem of how to take hold of the reins of all this new life so that the material element in it may not become the master, but the servant of mankind. In the control of life by the spiritual the only hope of the world lies.

Is there, then, anywhere a faith that reduces spiritual control to a working principle of life? If there is, it is what the world needs most. We have seen how Islam has broken down in face of modern social and political development. Of Buddhism it may be said that it runs away from life because it has no answer to its problems, while Hinduism lacks resistless uplifting love. These faiths are inadequate to the need of

the world because of what they lack. It may be said that Christianity has not proved adequate. But in so far as the Christian Church has failed it is because it has not expressed the teaching of its Founder. Christianity rests on Jesus Christ. The heart of Christianity is that *God came down* to human need *to help man up*. That is the element lacking in other faiths. With great assurance Jesus called Himself the Son of God and the Son of Man. He described His mission as coming to show the Father. He claimed lordship over all life. What manner of man was this?

I

This Jesus was at one and the same time a Teacher and a Life. He was no mere utterer of precepts to be carried out. He lived a life that men might see what God is like. He demonstrated the nature of God in terms of human nature. Jesus had new views of God, and had a new way of doing things because of what He believed about God. He taught that God was love, God was light, God was life, and that the only thing that mattered was that all life should be brought into harmony with the Eternal. The bar to which He brought every bit of life was the character of God, the sanction for everything was the will of God, and the dynamic for everything was the power of God. The attitude of Jesus to men was as strangely new as His thought about God. With Him man was a spiritual being. Accordingly, He put unheard-of values on human life and revealed great ideals for commonplace folk. To Jesus God was in the very nature

of things. His faith in God was the interpretation of the Universe. He was what He was because of that faith. The wise and prudent men of His time wrote it all down as madness—"He hath a devil." But His madness lay in His steady faith in God. He was really the only perfectly sane human being. It was the rest of mankind who were mad—mad with the madness of refusing to believe in the reality of God.

These new attitudes marked out Jesus from the men of His time. It may be urged that His new teaching was just a phase in the history of religion, having no relevancy to the world of today. Some would say that in any case Christianity has long since become essentially an individualistic thing, and that it does not touch corporate life. These objections rest on the fact that the Church gradually fell into two errors. Corporate religion ofttimes degenerated into a force for seizing and holding political and ecclesiastical power. Christianity had certainly degenerated when its adherents had no moral fear of exercising arbitrary power. At the same time there grew up an intense individualism which found expression in monasticism. Even after the Reformation in Europe, the reformed Churches, with some outstanding exceptions, were largely monastic in spirit, even if they were not so in form. Religion became a thing of the cloistered individual soul. But spiritual life can never be limited to the cloister. Repressed instincts break out in abnormal forms. Unless there is a perfectly natural expression of religion in all life—personal, social, economic, and political—it will have unhealthy reactions. There

will be dead wood, fungus-like growth, or misdirected energy. This may explain many of the freak religions of our own time, much of the dead wood in Christendom, and certain forms of ill-conceived philanthropy.

Even if it were true that the Church had failed, that settles nothing. It only means that there has been surrender to the spirit of the age. The vital question is, supposing the Church were today altogether true to itself, could it reassert the domination of the spiritual over the material in life? Was Jesus just a dreamer, one of those rare souls of whom the soiled world was not worthy, a man apart, a mystic? Was His conception of God a reality? Was His emphasis on the worth of human personality justified? Was this new way of life practicable in a sordid world? If not, any Church in any age would be tilting at windmills in seeking to make effective the spiritual view of life.

II

Jesus lived out two great affirmatives—"I believe in God" and "I believe in men." Pharisees of all ages, and of every faith, had helped to dim in men's minds all sense of good in the world. He proclaimed His unbounded faith in men, and laid bare new riches in humanity. He treated men as if He saw in them the very image of God. They were thereby lifted into a consciousness that God wanted to give new life to a dead world, and they imbibed unconsciously new ideals for themselves, their friends, and their community. They found themselves thinking that no man liveth

to himself; they became possessors of a social gospel, the enthronement of the spiritual view of man as over against everything else.

Alongside these views of God and man, unworthy thoughts died in the hearts and minds of the followers of Jesus, and cruel and unjust acts were stayed. He was so friendly that almost unconsciously men gave Him the inner place in their hearts, and then strange things happened. They found that Jesus lived in a real world where God was central. They found that God thought about men and women just as Jesus did, and in this new discovery they turned the world upside down. Here was the greatest revolution that had ever taken place in the mind of men. They now measured life, not by any material measuring rod, but by the things of the spirit—self-sacrifice, truth, and love. They believed that the real world in which God meant men to dwell was the world of love, and that outside of it they were in their wrong element. What a message for our own time, when the material has come surging into life like a flood! Possibly the greatest need of the modern world is to bring these vast new material sides of life into their true place, not as forces opposed to religion and human progress, but as gifts given by God Himself to minister to the highest nature and the best interests of mankind.

III

The first apparent result of the teaching of Jesus was colossal failure. The life that was to be the light of men was cruelly and rudely ended.

They had taken and slain our brother,
And hanged him on a tree.[1]

In that tragedy everything was expressed that could be said against the new way of life: the world did its worst to incarnate goodness. The crowd had heard Him gladly, they had applauded His deeds, and had followed Him, until He failed to fall in with their narrow, selfish national ambitions, and then—He was alone. It seemed as if the face of God Himself was hid.

But there was a startling reaction. The Cross itself was turned into a thing of power. It became a great creative force from whence flowed life to a weary world. Instead of being the symbol of eclipse, it became a beacon for humanity. It summoned men to live, nay to die, that the principles of Jesus might be established among mankind. The essential attitude of Christianity is a willingness to live or to die—to fling away one's life, to count it as nothing—for the sake of some reality other than one's self: to "count anything a loss compared to the supreme value of knowing Christ Jesus."[2]

The early Church in those wonderful days before the chilling hand of the world was laid on it, was a power for righteousness. If the Church has had days of impotence, it has been when the equivalents of the Cross have been refused. In the Cross the spiritual and the material came into deadly grips, and the Cross won the field for the men of that day and of all time. In any apparent failure since, it was not the teaching

[1] G. K. Chesterton.
[2] Phil. iii: 8, Moffatt's translation.

of Jesus and the power of the Cross that were found inadequate to the world's need; it was the failure to apply them. The world needs more than ever men who have felt the sorrow and burden of humanity beating in upon their souls in the valley of the present humiliation, and who from thence have ascended to the mount of transfiguration and seen the Christ. The men who can help are those who have looked through the eyes of Christ, and, taking up their cross, have borne the griefs and carried the sorrows of men.

IV

Those who claim that Christ has a doctrine for society are met with the question whether it is to be expected that corporate groups, embracing men of all faiths and none, can accept and apply such a doctrine. It has to be borne in mind that men everywhere are units of complex social systems. The largest and most far-reaching influences of the mass of men generally are exercised as members of a society in which their attitudes, sympathies, and actions are expressed corporately. Groups of human beings incarnate some ideal or stand for some interest. These are opposed by other groups with differing ideals and interests, and this dramatic conflict goes on all the time on a world stage. The question whether the principles of Jesus can be applied in such circumstances must be faced.

Men corporately can act up to the highest element in the community or down to the lowest. It has been said that if five per cent of the people can be made keen about anything, it can be accomplished. Certainly the

fortunes of political leaders and policies sometimes depend on the action or inaction of a much smaller percentage of the electorate. Men are moved gregariously for good or evil by a sort of mob instinct. Can Christian men in a community induce its movement Godwards? The world today more than ever needs a directed spiritual outlook. Men need to be informed, guided, restrained, helped to see issues and consequences. They can be led to break through ignorance, prejudice, and convention. They can be taught to refuse to acquiesce in anything contrary to the highest ideals.

All of us function below our possibilities. In our blind prejudices we even function below our intentions. We, who hold in trust for the world the truths incarnated in Jesus, are never working with adequate conceptions. Our very differences hinder the kingdom. The vital alliances of men are in the region of the spirit, but often men who could be assimilated into one spirit are kept apart and fail to unite for God because of divergent mental attitudes or conflicting social or political programs. The genius of Christianity is incomparably greater than any conceivable doctrine or program. The most difficult work is that of the group, and yet today it is probably the richest and most fruitful for human society.

V

The group, however, is not the enemy of the individual; it is the crown. It does not supersede him; the highest corporate life must rest on individual life.

Right principles have to root in the soul of the individual man if he is to count for anything in the group. The great hindrances to progress in the world today are not the gross breaches of the decalogue. They are sins of aim, ambition, attitude, sympathy, and temper. In order that human society may move Godward, individual men and women will have to crucify many cherished sins of that kind. We must get rid of the things in ourselves that hinder in building the Kingdom of God if we are to see men with the eyes of Jesus, and if we would today discern between the spiritual and the material in life.

The fact is we are unwilling to be honest with ourselves. We refuse to see the things that make us a stiff-necked generation. Jesus clearly pointed them out. For example, He did not allow any cherished personal prejudice or any senseless public opinion to mislead Him, nor any passive ignorance or selfish desire to determine His convictions. He acknowledged no closed system of truth and made no fetish of resistance to change. It is charged against the social order of our time that it has captured and destroyed the soul of the world. Many good folk deny this, but are hurt when it is suggested that the social order should be tested by the character of God. Further, Jesus had unique courage in action. He never feared to attack Pharisaism, exploitation, evil, or injustice. He lashed that conspicuous modern sin of discrimination against men on the ground of some shibboleth or label. He broke through all convention, and shocked the orthodoxy of His own time by disregarding the common attitude towards feasts, fasts, and ordinances.

He challenged the current views on oaths, divorce, and the Sabbath, and He urged love for Jew, Samaritan, Gentile, friend and enemy alike.

The application today of these teachings, even by a comparative few, to the great movements of life we have been discussing, would give the leadership the world awaits. It would be revolutionary, and it would amount to a second Reformation. To discuss these principles in all human relationships is not possible within the compass of this book. We may, however, by way of stimulating thought about them, look more closely at what is involved in a right attitude to, say, public opinion.

VI

We live at a time when it is the special duty of all men and women of goodwill to set themselves to the task of thinking things through and to oppose firmly the tyranny of imposed ideas. The evolution of the newspaper press, with its millions of readers, has almost destroyed the art of thinking. To good newspapers and great editors the modern world owes much, but in our own time the press is not altogether an unmixed blessing. The newspaper habit has created subtle mental and ethical codes, and many men would as soon laugh in church as run counter to them. Half an hour of typical talk in any morning business men's train will abundantly illustrate this. The most casual listener can see that much opinion is merely borrowed—our favorite newspaper says so, therefore it is so. The mental outlook circles round the trivial and the acci-

dental. The momentary passions are far more exciting and absorbing than general insight into life.

The crude ideas of some gossip-mongers in the press are more demoralizing than is generally supposed. Not that the absurd tittle-tattle is accepted as pontifical, but it produces a looseness of grip on fact, a lack of perspective, an inability to sense issues, and an absence of responsibility, which make a considerable contribution to the mental and moral paralysis of our age. Thinking today is largely conditioned by the sporadic interest imposed for the moment by the press on the restlessness of the times. There is a famine of ordered thought, and therefore an absence of real insight into the problems of the world.

Some forms of mental inactivity amount to surrender of gifts and capacities. Sound thinking involves infinite trouble in the mastering of facts and in bringing prepared minds to the interpretation of them. It demands a right appreciation of values and of the implications of each fact. It also involves getting rid of presuppositions and prejudices. The temptation is to think with the crowd. It is so much easier. It was that sort of mentality that sent Jesus to the Cross. Without perverted public opinion there could be no Pilates. But perverted public opinion can be changed; right public opinion can be created.

We help to make our neighbors' opinion, good or bad. Every man in the street, though he may think he has no influence, is contributing all the time to "public opinion," that mightiest weapon of reaction and materialism in the world today, but a weapon that could be reforged into a flaming sword wherewith to

fight decisive battles for righteousness. The words "*with all thy mind*" should be blazoned on the foremost banner of the army that would fight for spiritual ideals.

VII

In the conflict between the material and the spiritual there is no neutrality. Human life in our land today wells forth in three streams, one a comparatively tiny stream of the William Careys, the Henry Martyns, the David Livingstones, the Mary Slessors, the Bishop Pattesons, who go out to non-Christian lands as apostles of the Church to preach, to teach, to heal, and to live in the name of Christ. The second is a much larger stream, daily swelling—travelers and traders, statesmen and scientists, farmers, engineers, miners and settlers—going to the four corners of the earth and multiplying contacts with men of all lands and all races. The third stream, much the largest, flows on in the homeland, the great formative influence of the other two, raising or depressing the quality of these by the nature of its own life. We *all* touch earth's utmost bound. And so we go back to the message of the World Missionary Conference to the Church in the homelands—"There is an imperative demand that national life and influence as a whole be Christianized, so that the entire impact, commercial and political, now of the West upon the East, and now of the stronger races upon the weaker, may confirm and not impair the message of the missionary enterprise."

If our country would serve the world, the only way

open would seem to be the old way of Jesus, testing everything by the character of God, and seeing human personality as He saw it. Those who attempt that way of life will have to say things not generally acceptable, do things not generally done, and aim at things outside the ken of public opinion. The conflict in which they will find themselves as they follow Him, is really between the material and the spiritual, the temporal and the eternal.

For Christ that fight meant the Cross. It will mean the Cross for those who follow Him. But wherever we fight He leads, however long the conflict He is going to be victor, and so we confidently adventure for Him.

If we could help Africa upward, that alone would be worth living for. If we could Christianize the impacts of the western world—commercial, social, educational, political—that would be worth living and dying for. If we could Christianize race relationships—that would be worth dying for twice over. A larger place has to be secured for the ideal of cooperation among the nations: we have to place deep in the heart of our own and other nations a sense of universal fellowship. We have to reassert the gospel in all life. It may seem madness to attempt such big, apparently impossible things. It is the madness of Jesus Christ.

Bibliography

The Four Gospels

APPENDIX

Summary of Recommendations of the Commission appointed in June, 1923, by the Municipal Council of Shanghai, to inquire into the conditions of child labor in Shanghai and the vicinity. July 9th, 1924.

After calling attention to the present international position with regard to the regulation of the employment of children and young persons, the report sets out the special difficulties in the way of the regulation of child labor in the Foreign Settlement. These difficulties are:

(1) The absence of a central government with power to enforce its decrees throughout the country.

(2) The circumstance that Shanghai is a treaty port and that the "Foreign Settlement" is managed and controlled by a Municipal Council, whose powers are strictly limited.

(3) Absence of birth registration and the consequent difficulty of proof of the age of children.

(4) Absence of educational facilities.

(5) The need for the provision and maintenance of a specially trained inspectorate.

(6) The circumstance that, owing to the present economic and social conditions of China, children are sent to work by their parents at the earliest age possible.

In spite of these difficulties, the Commission expressed the opinion that the problem must be faced and dealt with as far as possible, and that the standard to

be aimed at and adopted at the earliest practicable moment is that set up by the International Labor Conference at Washington.

The Commission made various recommendations—That the Council should seek power

(1) "To make and enforce regulations prohibiting the employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under ten years of age, rising to twelve years within four years." The Commission expressed itself as satisfied that such prohibition would not "cause financial injury or serious inconvenience to any industry."

(2) To prohibit the employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under fourteen years of age for a longer period than twelve hours in any period of twenty-four hours, such period of twelve hours to include a compulsory rest of one hour.

(3) The Commission, having reluctantly come to the conclusion that it is impracticable immediately to prohibit night work for children within the limits of the Foreign Settlement while there is no limitation outside, did not recommend that the Council should immediately seek power to enforce the prohibition of employment at night of children who can be employed by day, although expressing its opinion that night work for young children was a serious evil.

(4) The Commission went on to recommend that every child under fourteen years of age, employed in factories and industrial undertakings in the Settlement, should be given twenty-four hours' continuous rest from work in at least every fourteen days.

(5) That the Council should seek power to prohibit

the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories and industrial undertakings at any dangerous unguarded machine, in any dangerous or hazardous place, or at any work likely seriously to injure body or health, and to close any dangerous or hazardous premises where such children are employed, until they are made safe.

(6) That proof of age might be established either (*a*) by fixing a standard of height, or height and weight, or (*b*) providing . . . that in any prosecution until the contrary is proved, the child . . . is to be assumed to be under the particular age if he or she so appears to the magistrate. Whilst the majority of the Commission favor method (*b*) the Commission recommends that the Council should adopt whichever of the two methods is the more suitable from an administrative point of view.

The recommendations conclude with a suggestion that the Council should provide an adequate staff of trained men and women for carrying out the duties of inspection under the regulations, and with the observation that " reform of present industrial conditions and the consequent amelioration of the lot of the Chinese child worker cannot be achieved unless it receives the moral and active support not only of the foreign residents, but of the vastly greater body of the Chinese public."

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